THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

VIRGINIA
POWHATAN
Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith was deliuered to him prisoner 1607
MONACANS
MANNAHOACKS
Massawomecks
POWHATAN
Signification of these marks
To the crosses hath bin discouerd what beyond is by relation
Kings howses
Ordinary howses
MANGOAGS
CHAWONS
James towne
Powhatan flu
Cape Henry
Cape Charles
Poynt comfort
Chesapeack
CHESAPEACK BAY
Winstones Iles
Brookes Forest
KUSKARAWAOKS
TOCKWOGHS
SASQUESAHANOUGH
ATQUANACHUKES
The Sasquesahanoughs are a Gyant like people & thus a tyred
Washeborne C.
Smyths Iles
Gunters Harbour
Peregrines mount
Chickahokin
Blands C.
Fetherstones Baye
Sparks Valley
Democrites tree
Scale of Leagues
and halfe
THE VIRGINIAN SEA
Discouered and Discribed by Captayn John Smith
Grauen by William Hole 1606
Page 41 Smith

VIRGINIA SERIES

No. I

To the Lib of Congress
from the Editor.
Charles Deane
June 1866 —

SMITH'S TRUE RELATION

A

True Relation

OF

VIRGINIA

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By CHARLES DEANE

Boston

WIGGIN AND LUNT

MDCCCLXVI

No. 59

M.A.

EDITION:

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(of which only 250 are for sale.)

Thirty-five Copies, royal quarto.

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PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

THE tract here reprinted from the original black-letter volume is the earliest published work relating to the colony at Jamestown, Virginia (the first permanent English settlement in North America), which is known to bibliographers; having been issued the year after the settlement was made. It was written by Captain JOHN SMITH, the master-spirit of the colony, and, as will be seen, in the first person. It records the events which took place under his own observation for a period of a little over thirteen months, and embraces the time from the arrival of the colonists at Cape Henry, on the 26th of April, 1607, to the return of Captain Nelson in the "Phœnix," on the 2d of June, 1608. This is the first printed work of Captain Smith, who was destined to make some figure as an author. It was penned in the country of which he writes, and probably was not intended for publication.

The manuscript, not improbably, was taken to England by Captain Nelson, who, without unusual delays, would have arrived home some time in July. We have no means of knowing to whom the narrative was addressed. It appears to have circulated for a time in private among persons interested in the colony, and then to have found its way into print. By a singular misapprehension as to its authorship, some of the earlier issued copies bore the name of "Thomas Watson, Gent. one of said Collony," as the writer. The error appears to have been very soon discovered and corrected, and the name of Captain Smith substituted on the titlepage; and, in the preface which appeared with the corrected title, the writer, "I. H.," says: "Happening vpon this Relation by chance, (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the action . . . I thought good to publish it: but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries, Towns, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto us: but most of all, and which is the chiefe error, (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the bookes were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vnless it were the ouer rashnesse or mistaking of the workemen, but since hauing learned that the saide discourse was written by Captain *Smith*, who is one

of the Counsell there in Virginia, I thought good to make the like Apollogie, by shewing the true Author so far as my selfe could learn," &c.

If the usual plea, "absence of the author from the presse," is a sufficient excuse for "faults escaped in the printing," certainly a distance of three thousand miles should make the plea a valid one. Doubtless the writer's manuscript suffered somewhat at the hands of the printer. The punctuation of the book is, in many places, as bad as it well can be, and the meaning of the author is sometimes rendered obscure thereby. But probably the errors are not confined to the punctuation. It is quite certain, also, that a judicious corrector of the press would, in other respects, have improved what, as I have before suggested, may not have been written for publication. With the exception, however, of a few imperfect and almost unintelligible sentences, the book, when properly punctuated by the reader, will be found to be clearly and forcibly written, and to give an apparently faithful history of the colony for the period which it includes. Where Captain Smith comes in collision with others in authority in the colony, some allowance, perhaps, should be made for his strong feeling or prejudices; and it is always well, if possible, to read their version of the story in connection with his. Here I may refer to Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," which was written by the first president of the colony, who, hav-

ing been deposed before six months of his administration had expired, in this tract vigorously defends himself from the charges brought against him by Smith and others.

The writer of the preface says, that "somewhat more was by him [the author] written, which being, as I thought, fit to be private, I would not aduenture to make it publicke," &c. What was the nature of the writing here referred to can only be conjectured: nor is it evident why it was deemed necessary to announce, that matter "fit to be private" had been omitted. It is not improbable, that Smith — who for a long time had lain under suspicion with some of the members of the council, and who differed in his views of policy from many in authority, and from Captain Newport no less than from others — did not hesitate to comment freely on measures which he could not approve; and he may have written in private to a friend something which it was not deemed politic to publish. If any thing fell from his pen one half as caustic as his letter to the "Treasurer and Councell of Virginia," written a few months later, but not printed till sixteen years afterward, and then by himself in the "Generall Historie" (pp. 70–73), no one can wonder that it was deemed best, in this early and critical period of the colony's history, to suppress it.

The reader of the narrative will hardly fail to notice the abruptness with which the writer, after speaking

of their "many crosses in the downes," transports the little fleet to Cape Henry and Chesapeake Bay; the whole intervening time and space being despatched in scarcely half a dozen lines. During this period of many weeks, events took place, that were full of interest to Smith. It is said that he was suspected of a mutiny at sea, and was placed under arrest; and that, on the arrival of the colonists at Cape Henry, when the sealed box containing "the orders for government" was opened, and he was found to have been named as a member of the colonial council, he was not allowed to take his place in that body. It can hardly be supposed, that he would omit, in a narrative of events, to record what so much interested himself, and to speak freely of those who had thus heaped indignities upon him. Whatever else Smith may have written in the body of his letter, his own name did not appear in it throughout.

This tract was cited by Purchas in the first edition of his "Pilgrimage," a small folio volume of 752 pages, published at London, in 1613. On page 638, he places among his authorities in the margin "Newes from Virginia," — the running-title of this tract at the head of each page, — "and a M.S. of Cap. *Smith;*" and he quotes from the "True Relation" a little more than what is now contained on page 42 of this reprint. The same reference may also be seen in each later edition of the "Pilgrimage."

This little black-letter quarto has for a long time been considered "rare" among book-collectors, although at the present time I know of six copies in this country. Five of these I have had the privilege of examining. In the library of Colonel Aspinwall, late Consul of the United States at London, which was recently purchased by Mr. Barlow, of New York, is a copy with the "Smith" titlepage, and explanatory preface. Mr. James Lenox, of New York, also has a copy like that. Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R.I., has a copy, with the "Watson" titlepage, in a manuscript *fac-simile*, and without the explanatory preface. A copy with the "Watson" title, and also with the preface, is in the library of the New-York Historical Society. A copy wanting the titlepage, and also the preface, is in the library of Harvard College. Mr. Lenox has within a few months received from London a second copy of this tract, differing in its titlepage from either of the others described. It has neither the name of "Smith" nor of "Watson" on the titlepage, but simply the words, "By a Gentleman." It also contains the explanatory preface. The text of all these copies is the same, there never having been but one edition. The leaves are not paged. A comparison, by Mr. Lenox, of copies with the three different titles described above, would seem to indicate that all the titlepages were struck from the same page of types as originally set up; with the change only

of the two lines where the author's name is introduced. In the "Smith" copy, part of one line has been newly set up; the space occupied by the words, "*Captain* Smith, *Coronell*," being exactly the same as that taken up in the "Watson" copy by the words, "Th: Watson, Gent. one." In the "Gentleman" copy, recently received by Mr. Lenox, these two lines read thus: "*Written by a Gentleman of the ſaid Collony*, to a worſhipfull | friend of his in England;" the word "worſhipfull" being in the first line, while, in the other titles, it is in the second line.

As to the order in which the copies with these several titlepages were issued, it seems most natural to suppose, that at first, in the absence of any information concerning the author, or of any wish to announce his name, the style used in the "Gentleman" copy would be employed; and that copies with this titlepage should be regarded as the first issued. If we may assume this to be the fact, of course the explanatory preface, which Mr. Lenox's "Gentleman" copy has, does not belong to it. The adoption of such a titlepage for any later issue of this work could be referred, it would seem, only to the whim of a bookseller. The "Watson" title, of course, precedes the "Smith" title, to copies of which alone the explanatory preface "To the Courteous Reader" naturally belongs. If these three titlepages were struck off from the same "form," each of the later ones must have followed the

preceding one at no long interval, though the types may have been kept standing for weeks. But, if there was no attempt here at deception, we must suppose that some copies with the "Watson" title had been issued beyond recall before the "Smith" titlepage and the preface were printed. For if the erroneous "Watson" title had been merely "printed" when the error was discovered (see page ii. of preface), it would naturally have been cancelled.

A perfect copy of the first issue, if we may speak bibliographically, should contain a blank leaf before the titlepage, with signature "A" on the *recto;* then the "Watson" titlepage (or "Gentleman" title, if the suggestion above is adopted); following which is the text, beginning with "A 3," and continuing to "E 4," in fours. A corrected copy should contain the "Smith" titlepage, and two leaves of explanatory preface "To the Courteous Reader," corresponding to this reprint. The existence of a copy in the New-York Historical Society's library, referred to, with the "Watson" titlepage and the preface; of Mr. Lenox's copy, with the "Gentleman" titlepage and the preface; of Lord Ellesmere's copy (described by Mr. J. Paine Collier in his "Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language," London, 1865), with the "Smith" titlepage, and with no preface; and of the copy in the Grenville Library, with the "Watson" titlepage and with the preface, — shows, unless each

of these copies has been tampered with since it came from the hands of the printer, that but little regard was had to propriety in annexing or omitting the explanatory preface.

Mr. Collier, in the work cited above, expresses the opinion, for which he gives no reason, that, notwithstanding what is said in the address to the reader, Watson was the real author of the tract, though Captain Smith's more popular name was used in copies like that which Mr. Collier is describing; namely, the Ellesmere copy, which has the "Smith" titlepage.

Mr. Collier, in this, shows his ignorance of the early history of Virginia. He never could have read the tract of which he is speaking, especially in connection with the other narratives which cover the period of which Smith is here writing; for, if he had, he could not have failed to see that no one but Smith could have written the "True Relation." No person by the name of "Thomas Watson" is known to have been in the colony at the time; though a person of that name subsequently appears as one of the patentees in the second charter of Virginia, issued in 1609.

But any one who has not qualified himself to judge, by the internal evidence, as to the authorship of this tract, and who is disposed to call in question the testimony of the writer of the preface, — hitherto, I believe, unquestioned, — I would refer to a statement of Purchas in his "Pilgrimage," page 638 of the first edition.

In relating the adventures of Captain Smith in Virginia, he there quotes from this tract, by its running-title, "Newes from Virginia," more than a page (varying the language a little, and changing the style from the first person, in which Smith wrote it, to the third person), in which are described some of the "magicall rites" of the Indians which Smith had witnessed when he was their prisoner. The passage in Smith which reads, "So fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to have sacrificed mee," &c. ("True Relation," page 42), Purchas renders in the third person thus: "They so fedd this our Author, that he much misdoubted, that hee should have beene sacrificed," &c. It will therefore be seen that Purchas, the highest authority in this case, cites this tract, and identifies the narrator with Smith.

The original tract is in black-letter: this impression, therefore, is in no sense a *fac-simile*. It is, however, a literal transcript of the original work, as regards the spelling, the punctuation, and the retaining of all the errors, even those clearly typographical. In some instances, where the meaning of the author has been obscured or perverted by the defective print, or where he has himself failed to express his thoughts clearly, I have ventured, in aid of a more correct understanding of the text, to make some suggestions in the notes at the foot of the page. Where the meaning is apparent at once to the intelligent reader, notwith-

standing the defects in punctuation and in the grammatical structure of the sentences, I have usually left the page without comment.

The titlepage, however, of this reprint is very nearly a *fac-simile* of the original; and the head-piece, and the ornamental letter K, on the first page of the text, are exact copies of those in the black-letter tract.

This reprint is paged throughout, and in this respect differs from the original. No map was originally issued with this tract; but a photo-lithographic *fac-simile* of Smith's map, which was issued in the Oxford tract of 1612 (a work frequently cited in my notes under the title of "Map of Virginia"), is here furnished, as it will afford assistance to a better understanding of the narrative.

This map was subsequently re-issued in Smith's "Generall Historie," at page 41; and that number will be found engraved at the bottom, in the right-hand corner, on copies of the map so used. The map will also be found in copies of vol. iv. of Purchas's "Pilgrimes," at pages 1690, 1691 (or 1692, 1693); which numbers may be seen rudely engraved at the top of copies of the map there inserted. Such copies also have the words, "Page 41, Smith," in the corner.

A reprint of the "True Relation" was attempted in "The Southern Literary Messenger" for February, 1845, from the copy in the New-York Historical Society's library: but it was very incorrectly done; a

number of passages — in one instance, nearly a whole page — having been carelessly omitted.

Smith's "Generall Historie," issued in 1624, includes, substantially, the whole of his previous publications, with the exception of the "True Relation." For the period covered by this tract, another narrative is introduced; namely, that in the appendix to the Oxford tract, before mentioned, called the "Map of Virginia," &c., written by the companions of Smith. It is not nearly so full as the "True Relation," for the time embraced by this tract, even with the addition made to it in its new form in the "Generall Historie," though it covers a much longer period. Why Smith should have omitted to include this, his first work, in the "Generall Historie" is not evident. He could have corrected the errors of the press, and in other respects have improved its composition. It is not easy, however, to see how he could have explained the omission of the romantic story of his rescue by Pocahontas, foisted into the narrative of his companions, as it is reprinted in the "Generall Historie." It would have been more awkward to attempt to fit that new piece to the old garment of his own "True Relation," than to supply what might appear wanting in the relation of another.

The only contemporary histories of the colony at Jamestown hitherto published, that cover the period embraced by the "True Relation," are, first,

the little quarto volume above referred to, which was printed at Oxford in 1612, with the following title:—

"A Map of Virginia. With a Deſcription of the covntrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion. Written by Captaine Smith, ſometimes Governour of the Countrey. Where-vnto is annexed the proceedings of thoſe Colonies, ſince their firſt departure from England, with the diſcourſes, Orations, and relations of the Salvages, and the accidents that befell them in all their Iournies and diſcoveries. Taken faithfvlly as they were written out of the writings of Doctor Rvſſell. Tho. Stvdley. Anas Todkill. Ieffra Abot. Richard Wiffin. Will. Phettiplace. Nathaniel Powell. Richard Pots. And the relations of divers other intelligent obſervers there present then, and now many of them in England. By W. S. At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612."

As the title indicates, the tract consists of two parts. The first part includes thirty-nine pages of text, besides three pages of Indian words and their English meanings, one page of dedication, and the titlepage. This part was written by Smith, as he says in the "Generall Historie," "with his owne hand." It is a topographical description of the country, embracing climate, soil, and productions, with a full account of the native inhabitants; and has only an occasional reference to the proceedings of the colony at Jamestown. In the dedication of this part, signed "T. A.," the writer says "it was penned in the Land it treateth of." In a letter addressed to the Treasurer and Council of the Virginia Company in England—

written from Virginia after the arrival of Newport there in September, 1608, and probably sent home by him near the close of the year — Smith says, "I haue sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large." ("Generall Historie," pp. 71, 72.) The map referred to I suppose to be Smith's map of the country, which was published in the Oxford tract; and the "annexed Relation" to be the manuscript of his part of it. As it was not printed till two or three years after Smith had returned from Virginia, it is not improbable that the writer made additions to his manuscript before giving it to the press. One or two of the last paragraphs were certainly written in England.

The second part of the Oxford tract has a separate titlepage, as follows:—

"The Proceedings of the Engliſh colonie in Virginia ſince their firſt beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this preſent 1612, with all their accidents that befell them in their Iournies and Diſcoveries. Alſo the Salvages diſcourſes, orations and relations of the Bordering neighbours, and how they became ſubiect to the Engliſh. Vnfolding even the fundamentall cauſes from whence haue ſprang ſo many miſeries to the vndertakers, and ſcandals to the buſineſſe: taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley, the firſt provant maiſter, Anas Todkill, Walter Ruſſell Doctor of Phiſicke, Nathaniell Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, Tho: Hope, Rich. Potts and the labours of divers other diligent obſervers, that were reſidents in Virginia.

And perufed and confirmed by diverfe now refident in England that were actors in this bufines. By W. S. At Oxford, Printed by Joſeph Barnes. 1612."

In the address "to the reader" of this part, the writer of it, "T. Abbay," — probably the person whose initials are signed to the dedication of the first part, — says that the discourse is not from "salers or passengers," but from "those that haue lived residents in the land . . . whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, since passing the hands of many to pervse, chancing into my hands (for that I knew them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale, nor in conscience, but approue. By the advice of many graue and vnderstanding gentlemen, that haue pressed it to the press, it was thought fit to publish it, rather in its owne rude phrase then other waies."

Richard Pots and Thomas Abbay had both resided in Virginia. Pots came with the "first supply" of passengers, perhaps in January, 1607–8; and Abbay with the "second supply," about September following. Their names, though mentioned in the titlepage among those out of whose writings this narrative was compiled, are not appended to any of the chapters as authority for what precedes. The same remark may be made concerning some of the other

names thus introduced into the titlepage. The name of "Richard Pots, Clarke of the councell," is affixed for the first time, as an authority, to a chapter in the "Generall Historie," p. 94, as this narrative is there reprinted. On the last page of this second part is a note addressed to "Captaine Smith," saying, "I returne you the fruit of my labours, as Mr. Croshaw requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, & hearing the relations of such as haue walked, & observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great," &c.; concluding with, "*Your friend. W. S.*" These are the initials of William Simons, or Symonds, "Doctor of Divinity;" an Oxfordshire man, whose name is perpetuated by Wood in his "Athenæ," who says, "He was a person of an holy life, grave and moderate in his carriage, painful in the ministry, well learned and of rare understanding in prophetical scriptures." He was much interested in the colony of Virginia, and preached a "sermon at White-chapel in the presence of many Honorable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia, 25 April 1609." Dr. Simons appears to have been requested by Smith, who was probably the one ultimately interested in this publication, to overlook these "discourses" before finally sending them to the press; and I should infer from the "Generall Historie," pp. 41 and 105, if not from the note to Smith cited above, that Dr. Simons was the

principal editor of the narrative in this part of the Oxford tract.

It would seem, then, from the above, that this second part "first was compiled," by Richard Pots, out of the writings of a number of Smith's companions. It subsequently went into the hands of Dr. Simons, who gave the manuscript an editorial supervision. "This solid treatise" then "chanced" into the hands of T. Abbay, who gave it his sanction in a preface.

The Oxford tract was republished in the "Generall Historie," on pages 21–96. The first part, written by Smith, as there reprinted, varies a little, occasionally, in the text. The preface by "T. A." is omitted; and the catalogue of Indian words, &c., is transferred to the end of this part. A new heading is given, and three or four lines of new matter begin the text. The second part, as reprinted in the "Generall Historie," underwent some changes in the original text; but much new matter was introduced, chiefly, I suppose, on the authority of Smith, as the parallel passages found in Purchas are usually credited to him. Lines of poetry are occasionally interspersed in the text, with two pages of commendatory verses, and also a letter of Smith to the Treasurer and Council of Virginia. A few pages of the tract, near its close, are omitted in the "Generall Historie." The preface by "T. Abbay" is also omitted, and the heading of this part is changed to the following: "The

Proceedings and Accidents of the English Colony in Virginia, Extracted from the Authors following, by William Simons, Doctour of Divinitie." The "authors following" I suppose to be those whose names are affixed to some of the chapters. A number of names are thus affixed that do not appear in the original tract.

The Oxford tract was also republished by Purchas, in his "Pilgrimes," vol. iv. pp. 1691–1733. The first part is reprinted almost literally, with a few additional passages, which are generally in Italics. The preface and the Indian words are omitted; and the heading of this part (being chap. iii. lib. ix. of Purchas) reads thus: "The description of Virginia by Captaine Iohn Smith, inlarged out of his written Notes." A passage relating to the conjurations of the Indians in the presence of Smith, on pages 31, 32, of the original tract, is here omitted, and appears in an enlarged form in the second part; as was the case also in the reprint in the "Generall Historie." In reprinting the second part, Purchas has abbreviated a few passages and omitted many; but otherwise he has followed the original text very closely. Much new matter is introduced, corresponding mainly to what is new in the "Generall Historie;" and, though usually the language is the same, it is sometimes abbreviated. The new matter in Purchas, I suppose, was furnished by Smith in manuscript; and generally his

name is placed in the margin against these passages. His heading of this part (being chap. iiii. lib. ix. of Purchas) nearly corresponds to the heading of Chapter I. in the original, with the exception that three additional names are given as authorities,* with the following: "And since enlarged out of the Writings of Capt. Iohn Smith, principall Agent and Patient in these Virginian Occurrents, from the beginning of the Plantation 1606. till Ann. 1610. somewhat abridged." Also the preface by T. Abbay is omitted.

Although the "Generall Historie" bears date 1624, the year before the date of Purchas's "Pilgrimes," I cannot think that it was issued in print in time for Purchas to use it at this place. As we have seen above, he reprinted from the text of the Oxford tract, adding what was furnished to him by Smith. In a subsequent portion of the volume, at page 1773, Purchas refers to the "Generall Historie," though not by this name. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Captain Smith for materials respecting Virginia at the period of which he is then writing (1614–1619); for Smith, he says, "having compiled a long History of that and the *Summer Iland* plantation, and of *New England*,

* Purchas has a marginal note at this place as follows: "I haue many Treatiſes lying by me, written by Capt. Smith and others, ſome there, ſome here after their returne: but becauſe theſe haue alreadie ſeene the light, and containe a full relation of *Virginian* affaires, I was loth to wearie the Reader with others of this time."

in six Bookes, hath gently communicated the same to mine, that is to thine, as intended to the Worlds vse," &c. This would indicate a reference to manuscripts, or advance sheets, rather than to a volume already published to the world. The voluminous works of Purchas must have been a long time in the press, though the four volumes of the "Pilgrimes" all bear date 1625, — the year probably of their issue.

It may be well to mention, in connection with the subject of the publication of the Oxford tract in a volume of Purchas's "Pilgrimes," that this author printed an abstract of it in his "Pilgrimage," referred to above as having been first published at London in 1613, the year after the tract was published. "The eighth booke" of that work relates to the New World, and "Chap. V." treats "Of Virginia." Captain Smith, if not the other writers of the tract, had communicated to Purchas his manuscript. On page 634, in speaking of those parts of Virginia "discouered for Sir Walter Raleigh," Purchas says, "Concerning the latter, Captaine *Iohn Smith*, partly by word of mouth, partly by his Mappe thereof in print,* and more fully by a Manuscript† which hee courteously communi-

* It would seem that Smith's map had been engraved on copperplate, and, if not already published, an advance copy of it shown to Purchas, before the printing or the *publishing* of the Oxford tract in which it was afterwards issued.

† At the time Purchas was here writing, the Oxford tract, called the "Map of Virginia," &c., had not been printed. "The Epistle Dedica-

cated to mee, hath acquainted me with that whereof himselfe with great perill and paine had beene the discouerer," &c. He also refers in the margin on another page, as his authorities, to material "collected out of the writing" of the authors of the second part, or appendix to the Oxford tract. This abstract, and other passages considerably extended, appear in the second edition of the "Pilgrimage," published the next year (pp. 755, 768); in the third edition, published in 1617 (pp. 944–956); and in the fourth edition, published in 1626 (p. 834 *et seq.*). This last edition usually accompanies the four volumes of the "Pilgrimes," published the year before. "Purchas his Pilgrimage" is a different work from "Purchas his Pilgrimes." The author describes the distinction between them in the dedication of the last edition of the "Pilgrimage" to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "It pleased his Majestie," he says, "to enquire further of the different scope of my Pilgrimage, & my then presented Pilgrims which here also for the Readers' sake I think fit to answer; that These Brethren holding much resemblance in name, nature, and feature, yet differ both in the object and sub-

torie" to this edition of his "Pilgrimage" is dated November 5, 1612, — the year borne upon the titlepage of the Oxford tract, — though the titlepage of the "Pilgrimage" is dated 1613. In the second edition of the "Pilgrimage," London, 1614, p. 760, the passage above cited is given; but a marginal note on the words "a Manuscript" reads, "Since printed at Oxford."

ject: This being mine own in matter (though borrowed) and in forme of words and method. Whereas my Pilgrims are the Authors themselues, acting their owne parts in their owne words," &c.

The second contemporary account of the settlement of Virginia which will be noticed is, Percy's narrative in Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1685–1690, published in 1625, and entitled —

"Obſeruations gathered out of a Diſcourſe of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the Engliſh, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman Maſter George Percy."

This writer was a brother of the celebrated Earl of Northumberland. He was one of the first colonists, and succeeded Smith as temporary Governor of the plantation. We have no means of knowing how long a period this narrative embraced, as Purchas unfortunately has printed only an abridgment of it, in six of his folio pages, ending in September, 1607. "The rest," he says, "is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations." Percy gives a minute detail of the incidents of the first voyage, and of the movements of the colonists after their arrival at Cape Henry until the 14th of May when the party were "landed" at Jamestown; matters scarcely touched upon by the other narrators. All that is preserved to us of this "Discourse" is valuable; for it embraces throughout, many details which are to be met with nowhere else. It had been previously cited by Pur-

chas in the second edition of the "Pilgrimage," published in 1614, on pages 757, 768.

Third, "Newport's Discoveries in America," published for the first time in 1860, in vol. iv. of "Archæologia Americana," and embracing twenty-five pages of that work. The account published under the above head consists of three papers, the most extended of which is entitled "A Relatyon of the Discovery of our river, from James Forte into the Maine; made by Capt. Christopher Newport, and sincerely written and observed by a Gentleman of the Colony." This "Relatyon" is principally confined to an account of the voyage from Jamestown up the river to the "Falls," where Richmond is now situated, and back again to Jamestown: beginning "May 21" (or May 22, according to the "True Relation"), seven days after the first "landing" at Jamestown; and ending 21st June, the day before Newport sailed for England. The second paper, of four pages, is entitled "The Description of the new-discovered river and country of Virginia; with the liklyhood of ensuing riches, by England's ayd and industry." The concluding paper, of only a little more than two pages, is "A brief description of the People." The authorship of these papers is unknown. They were printed from copies made under the direction of the Hon. George Bancroft, from the originals in the English State-

Paper Office; and were edited by the Rev. Edward E. Hale.

Mr. Bancroft has still a large number of unpublished manuscripts relating to the early history of Virginia, copied for him in the public offices in England. These he has kindly submitted to my inspection, and given me full liberty to use such portions of them as might prove conducive to the illustration of this tract. The principal part of these papers refers to a little later period in the history of Virginia than that which is included in this narrative. I have copied the title of one paper in a note on page 14, "A Briefe Declaration," &c., which gives a general view of the state of the colony from its commencement down to the year 1624.

Fourth, "A Discourse of Virginia," by Edward Maria Wingfield, the first President of the Colony, printed for the first time in the fourth volume of the "Archæologia Americana," and embracing twenty-eight pages of that work. It was procured for me from the original in the Lambeth Library, shortly before it was printed. The narrative begins with the sailing of Newport for England, 22d June, 1607; and ends 21st May, 1608, on the author's arrival in England. Some half a dozen pages at the conclusion are taken up in a defence of himself from charges of unfaithfulness in duty, on which he had been deposed from the presidency and from the council. The nar-

rative of Wingfield was cited for the first time by Purchas in the margin of the second edition of his "Pilgrimage" (1614), pp. 757, 768. Purchas also refers to "M. Wingfield's notes" in the margin of p. 1706 of vol. iv. of his "Pilgrimes," where he is giving an account of the assault on the fort at Jamestown, just before the return of Newport's party of discovery up the river. He says: "The Fort assaulted by the Sauages. I have also M. Wingfield's notes of these affaires, but would not trouble the Reader here with things more then troublesome there." Wingfield's "Discourse," above referred to, does not include events that occurred so early as the attack on the fort. Possibly he wrote more, which is now lost. In the "Pilgrimage" is a reference to Wingfield for a fact certainly not embraced in the "Discourse" in its present form.

The above, with the tract here reprinted, comprise all the original or contemporaneous accounts of the settlement of the colony of Jamestown which have come under my observation. A few incidents, here and there, may be gathered from other sources, particularly from some of Smith's later publications. Strachey's "Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," &c., published by the Hakluyt Society in 1849, so far as it relates to the southern part of Virginia, is rather a topographical and geographical description of the country, than an account of the English colony

residing there. The author, who was Secretary of the colony, did not arrive at Jamestown till 23d May, 1610; and he remained there only one or two years. A considerable portion of the Oxford tract of 1612 — more particularly the first part, written by Smith — was adopted by Strachey, and interwoven into his own narrative, without acknowledgment.

The interesting letter of Strachey, written from Jamestown, 15th July, 1610, and published in Purchas's "Pilgrimes," vol. iv. pp. 1734–1756, contains, on page 1752, a few brief incidents of Newport's first arrival, in April, 1608; but these, of course, must have been communicated to him by other persons.

Stith's "History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia," &c., published at Williamsburg in 1747, can hardly be embraced in the category of original narratives of this early period; though we are obliged to consult this volume for the letters patent, and the orders and instructions from His Majesty, under which the colony was first settled. Stith was chiefly indebted to the "Generall Historie" for the material of his work relating to this colony.

Other tracts on Virginia, published just after the "True Relation," do not contain a history of the first settlement of the colony, but were the result of a fresh attempt to encourage emigration thither, in view of the issuing of a new charter (dated 23d May, 1609), with a larger number of patentees, and with more

ample powers and privileges. The tracts which followed these, for a year or two, gave the results of the expeditions which sailed after the new grant had been procured.

I learned from the "Historical Magazine" for July, 1861 (p. 224), that a "Relation of Virginia," written by Henry Spelman, "the third son of the antiquary," who came to this colony in 1609, had just then been printed in England, from the original manuscript formerly owned by Dawson Turner.

My correspondent in London, to whom I wrote for a copy of the book, writes to me under date of 9th January, 1866, that the manuscript was bought at Dawson Turner's sale by Lilly, the bookseller, who printed fifty copies, and advertised them to be sold at five shillings apiece; but that no copies had been sold, and, at the time of his writing, the books could not even be found.

Spelman (or *Spilman*, as he is called in the "General Historie," pp. 108, 161) was a boy when he first went to Virginia. He lived for a long time with the Indians, and became some years after an interpreter for the colony. Of course, his narrative, so far as it relates to his own experience in the colony, would be subsequent to the period of Smith's "True Relation."

The settlement at Jamestown, as is well known, was made under the authority of the company that owed its existence to the patent of King James, "dated

the 10th of April, 1606," which divided the portion of North America stretching from the 34th to the 45th degree of latitude into two districts. The Southern or First Colony was granted to the London Company; the Northern or Second Colony was granted to the Plymouth Company. The charter authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and their associates of the First Colony, to settle in any part of the Southern district that they might choose, between the degrees of 34 and 41; vesting in them a right of property in the land extending along the coast fifty miles on each side of the place of their first habitation, and reaching one hundred miles into the interior. The Northern district was assigned to certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and other parts of the West of England, with a similar grant of territory between the degrees of 38 and 45; provided "that the plantation and habitation of such of the said colonies as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid."

The charter provided that each colony should have a local council of thirteen; but the supreme government of the colonies was vested in a council, consisting of the same number, resident in England, to be nominated by the king.

Besides the charter, the king gave divers instructions and orders under his sign-manual and privy seal, dated 20th November, 1606. Stith's History should be consulted for the minute details respecting these early official papers. The king directed that the first colonial councillors should be nominated and appointed by His Majesty's Council in England.

"The transportation of the colony," says Stith, was committed "to Captain Christopher Newport, who was esteemed a mariner of ability and experience on the American coasts. For he had fourteen years before, Anno 1592, with much reputation and honour, conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies; where, with three ships and a small bark, he took several prizes, plundered and burnt some towns, and got a considerable booty.

"To him therefore, by an instrument, bearing date the 10th of December, 1606, under the legal seal of the council, they gave power to appoint all captains, soldiers, and mariners, and to have the sole charge and command of the same, and of the whole voyage, from the date thereof, till they should land on the coast of Virginia; and in case of his death, the several captains of the ships and bark were ordered and impowered, to proceed and carry them to the coast of Virginia aforesaid. To Captain Newport, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, and Captain John Ratcliffe, they also delivered several instruments, close sealed with the coun-

cil's seal, which they, the survivors, or survivor of them, should, within twenty four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, and not before, open and unseal, and publish the names of the persons, therein set down, who should be declared and taken to be his Majesty's Council for that colony: That the said council should immediately proceed to the choice and nomination of a president, who should have two votes in all matters of controversy and question, where the voices happened to be equal; and should have full power and authority, with the advice of the rest of the council, or the greater part of them, to govern, rule, and command, all the captains and soldiers, with all other persons whatsoever of the said colony: And that the president, immediately upon his election, should, in the presence of the council and of twenty others of the principal adventurers in the voyage, to be by the president and council called thereto, take his oath, according to a form prescribed, to bear true allegiance to the king, and for the performance of his duty in the place and office of president; after which he should administer the like oath to each of the council particularly. And finally, Captain Newport was commanded, with such a number of men, as should be assigned him by the president and council, to bestow two months in the search and discovery of the rivers and ports of the country, and to give present order for the lading the two

ships (the bark being designed to remain in the country) with such principal commodities and merchandise, as could there be had and found, and to return with the said ships, full laden, bringing a particular account of every thing, by the last of May following, if God permit.

"To these orders the council added other instructions, by way of advice, concerning their strict observation of the above-mentioned ordinances by the King's Majesty, delivered to them under the Privy Seal; concerning the choice of a place, and the manner of seating themselves; the necessary orders and methods of discovery; their caution before, and behavior towards, the natives; with various other counsels and directions for the better conducting themselves and the enterprise. And, as the council in England were ever solicitous and intent on the discovery of the South-Sea, as the certain and infallible way to immense riches, they were commanded, if they happened to discover divers navigable rivers, and among them any that had two main branches, if the difference was not great, to make choice of that which tended most towards the North-West; since the other sea, as they judged, would be soonest found that way. And they were to discover, if they could, whether the river, on which they seated, sprung out of the mountains or out of lakes. For, if it rose from any lake, it was likely that the passage to the other

sea would be the more easy, and that out of the same lake they might find some other stream, running the contrary way, towards the East-India, or South-Sea. And they concluded lastly and chiefly, that the way to prosper and obtain success was to make themselves all of one mind, for their own and their country's good, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all goodness, since every plantation, which he did not plant, would certainly be rooted out." (Stith, pp. 42–44.)

All these orders and instructions were put into a box, and the expedition set sail from Blackwall on the 19th of December, 1606. It consisted of three ships, — the "Susan Constant," admiral, of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Newport, and carrying seventy-one persons; the "God-speed," vice-admiral, of forty tons, commanded by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, and carrying fifty-two persons; the "Discovery," rear-admiral (the pinnace), of twenty tons, commanded by Captain John Ratcliffe (or Ratliffe), and carrying twenty-one persons. As the number of the first planters was *one hundred and five*, thirty-nine of the above must have constituted the crews of the three ships.

Owing to "unprosperous winds," they were kept six weeks in sight of England; during which time, Mr. Hunt, their preacher, "was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery." The narrative in the "Generall Historie," at page 42, proceeds: "We

watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica;* three weekes we spent in refreshing our selves amongst these west-India isles; in *Guardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or four houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time, where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land, so that Captaine *Ratliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had seene that coast. The first land they made they called *Cape Henry*," &c.

The number of the first planters, stated in the Oxford tract of 1612, is *one hundred and five;* and the names of sixty-six of these are there given. The "Generall Historie" — which states erroneously, but perhaps inadvertently, that the number of the first planters was just one hundred — gives the names of eighty-two persons, namely: —

"Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield, Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll, Captaine Iohn Smith, Captaine Iohn Ratliffe, Captaine Iohn Martin, Captaine George Kendall," are designated as of the "Councel." "Mr. Robert Hunt, Preacher, Mr. George Percie, Anthony Gosnoll, George Flower, Cap. Gabriell Archer, Robert Fenton, Robert Ford, William Bruster, Edward Harrington, Dru Pickhouse, Thomas Iacob, Iohn Brookes, Ellis Kingston, Thomas Sands, Beniamon Beast, Iehu Robinson, Thomas Mouton, Eustace Clovill, Stephen Halthrop, Kellam Throgmorton, Edward Morish, Nathaniel Powell, Edward Browne, Robert Behethland, Iohn Penington, Ieremy Alicock, George Walker, Thomas Studley, Richard Crofts, Nicholas Houlgraue, Thomas Webbe, Iohn Waller, Iohn Short, William Tankard, William Smethes, Francis Snarsbrough, Richard Simons, Edward Brookes, Richard Dixon, Iohn Martin, Roger Cooke, Anthony Gosnold, Tho: Wotton, Chirurg, Iohn Stevenson, Thomas Gore, Henry Adling, Francis Midwinter, Richard Frith," who are named as gentlemen. "William Laxon, Edward Pising, Thomas Emry, Robert Small," who are recorded as carpenters. "Iohn Layden, William Cassen, George Cassen, Thomas Cassen, William Rodes, William White, Old Edward, Henry Tavin, George Goulding, Iohn Dods, William Iohnson, William Vnger," named as laborers. Then follow — "Iam: Read, Black-

smith; Ionas Profit, Sailor; Tho: Cowper, Barber; Will: Garrett, Bricklayer; Edward Brinto, Mason; William Loue, Taylor; Nic: Scot, Drum; Wil: Wilkinson, Chirurg; Samuel Collier, boy; Nat. Pecock, boy; Iames Brumfield, boy; Richard Mouton, boy. With divers others to the number of 100 [105]."

The above list contains eighty-two names, if we consider "Anthony *Gosnoll*" and "Anthony *Gosnold*" to be two persons. I have always supposed the same person's name to have been accidentally repeated. There are here nineteen names more than are given in the list in the Oxford tract, which also contains the names of four persons not included in the above, namely, "George Martin," in the list of gentlemen; "Anas Todkill," and "Iohn Capper," with no designation; and "Iohn Herd, Bricklayer."

Percy, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1690, gives the names of twenty-four persons* who had died by the 19th of September, 1607; and among these names are Iohn Asbie, Thomas Mounslic, and Robert Pennington, that are not in either of the lists above cited. Wingfield ("Discourse," p. 100) speaks of "ould Short, the bricklayer," who, I suppose, must be a different person from "Iohn Short," the gentleman. We have, thus, the names of ninety of the first-comers.

* In the note, at page 13 of the following reprint, the number is inadvertently given as *twenty-three*. Percy's record of the names of the deceased up to this time is very incomplete, for Smith tells us in the text, that "about the tenth of September there was about 46 of our men dead."

In a note on page 5 of this reprint will be found a list of the names of four "maryners" and fourteen "saylors" who went with Newport and Captain Smith "to discover the James River." These belonged to the ships, and doubtless all returned to England with Newport.

The following is a list of the names of seventy-three of the one hundred and twenty persons constituting the "first supply" or reinforcement of the colony, who arrived, part of them with Newport in January, 1607–8; and part of them with Nelson, who, during a storm, had parted company with Newport, and did not arrive at Jamestown till the 22d of April ("Generall Historie," p. 55): — "Mathew Scrivener, Michaell Phittiplace, William Phittiplace, Ralph Morton, Richard Wyffing, Iohn Taverner, William Cantrell, Robert Barnes, Richard Fetherstone, George Hill, George Pretty, Nathaniell Causy, Peter Pory, Robert Cutler, Michaell Sicklemore, William Bentley, Thomas Coe, Doctor Russell, Ieffrey Abbot, Edward Gurgana, Richard Worley, Timothy Leeds, Richard Killingbeck, William Spence, Richard Prodger, Richard Pots, Richard Mullinax, William Bayley, Francis Perkins, Iohn Harper, George Forest, Iohn Nichols, William Griuell," are designated as gentlemen. "Raymõd Goodison, William Simons, Iohn Spearman, Richard Bristow, William Perce, Iames Watkins, Iohn Bouth, Christopher Rods,

Richard Burket, Iames Burre, Nicholas Ven, Francis Perkins, Richard Gradon, Rawland Nelstrop, Richard Savage, Thomas Savage, Richard Milmer, William May, Vere, Michaell, Bishop Wiles, Labourers. Thomas Hope, William Ward, Iohn Powell, William Yong, William Beckwith, and Larence Towtales, Taylers. Thomas Field, Iohn Harford, Apothecaries; Dani: Stallings, Ieweller; Will: Dawson, a refiner; Abram Ransack, a refiner; Wil: Iohnson, a Goldsmith; Peter Keffer, a gunsmith; Rob: Alberton, a perfumer; Richard Belfield, a Goldsmith; Post Ginnat, a Chirurg; Iohn Lewes, a Cooper; Robert Cotton, a Tobacco-pipe maker; Richard Dole, a Blacksmith. And divers others to the number of 120."

The "second supply" arrived in the autumn of 1608, and consisted of seventy persons, including two women, — "the first Gentlewoman and woman-servant that arrived in our *Colony*." The names of fifty-eight of these seventy may be seen in the "Generall Historie," pp. 72, 73. I do not copy them here, as they refer to a period in the history of the colony after the time covered by the "True Relation."

Captain Smith was about twenty-eight years of age when he came to Virginia. He had previously, while a very young man, travelled in the East; and many years afterwards, in 1630, he published an ac-

count of his adventures there under the title of "The True Travels," &c. He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, about 1579, as may be inferred from the inscription on his portrait in the corner of his map of New England, — "Æta. 37. Aº 1616." He died on "the 21st of June, 1631," as appears from an inscription on a monument in St. Sepulcher's Church, London, erected to his memory by a friend. The publications which bear his name are —

A True Relation, &c. London, 1608.

A Map of Virginia, &c. Oxford, 1612.

A Description of New England, &c. London, 1616.

New Englands Trials, &c. London, 1620. Second edition. 1622.

The Generall Historie, &c. London, 1624. Also re-issued (not reprinted) in 1626, 1627, and twice in 1632, — the year after Smith's death; the date on the titlepage being altered to correspond to those years.

An Accidence or the Pathway to Experience, &c. London, 1626.

A Sea Grammar, &c. London, 1627. Other editions, 1653 and 1699.

The True Travels, &c. London, 1630.

Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, &c. London, 1631.

An admirable account of "The Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith; by George S. Hillard," was published in Sparks's "American Biography," in 1834.

I would express my grateful acknowledgments to Mr. JAMES LENOX, of New York, and to Harvard College, through the courtesy of its Librarian, Mr. J. L. SIBLEY, for the use of copies of the original "True Relation," during the preparation of the present impression.

C. D.

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts,
May, 1866.

A TRVE RE-lation of ſuch occur-

rences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia ſince the firſt planting of that Collony, which is now reſident in the South part thereof, till the laſt returne from thence.

Written by Captaine Smith *Coronell of the ſaid Collony, to a worſhipfull* friend of his in England.

LONDON

Printed for *Iohn Tappe*, and are to bee ſolde at the Grey-hound in Paules-Church-yard, by *W. W.*

1608

To the Courteous Reader.

COurteous, Kind, & indifferent Readers, whoſe willingneſſe to reade & heare this following diſcourſe, doth explaine to the world your hearty affection, to the proſecuting and furtherance of ſo worthy an action: ſo it is, that like to an vnskilfull actor, who hauing by miſconſtruction of his right Cue, ouer-ſlipt himſelfe, in beginning of a contrary part, and fearing the hatefull hiſſe of the captious multitude, with a modeſt bluſh retires himſelfe in priuate; as doubting the reprehenſion of his whole audience in publicke, and yet againe vpon further deliberation, thinking it better to know their cenſures at the firſt, and vpon ſubmiſſion to reape pardon, then by ſeeking to ſmother it, to incurre the danger of a ſecret ſcandall: Imboldening himſelfe vpon the curteous kindneſſe of the beſt, and not greatly reſpecting the worſt, comes fourth againe, makes an Apollogie for himſelfe, ſhewes the cauſe of his error, craues pardon for his raſhnes, and in fine, receiues a generall applauditie of the whole aſſemblie: ſo I gentle Readers, happening vpon this relation by chance (as I take it, at the ſecond or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the action, and none wiſhing better towards it then my ſelfe, ſo farre foorth as my poore abilitie can or may ſtretch too, I thought good to publiſh it: but the Author being

abſent from the preſſe, it cannot be doubted but that ſome faults haue eſcaped in the printing, eſpecially in the names of Countries, Townes, and People, which are ſomewhat ſtrange vnto vs: but moſt of all, and which is the chiefe error (for want of knowledge of the Writer) ſome of the bookes were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watſon*, by whoſe occaſion I know not, vnleſſe it were the ouer raſhneſſe, or miſtaking of the workemen, but ſince hauing learned that the ſaide diſcourſe was written by Captaine *Smith*, who is one of the Counſell there in *Virginia:* I thought good to make the like Apollogie, by ſhewing the true Author ſo farre as my ſelfe could learne, not doubting, but that the wiſe noting it as an error of ignorance, will paſſe it ouer with patience, and if worthy an applauditie, to reſerue it to the Author, whoſe paines in my iudgement deſerueth commendations; ſomewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be priuate) I would not aduenture to make it publicke what more may be expected concerning the ſcituation of the Country, the nature, of the clime, number of our people there reſident, the manner of their gouernment, and liuing, the commodities to be produced, & the end & effect it may come too, I can ſay nothing more then is here written, only what I haue learned and gathered from the generall conſent of all (that I haue conuerſed withall) aſwell marriners as others, which haue had imploymēt that way; is that the Country is execellēt & pleaſant, the clime temperate and health full, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worſt being already paſt, theſe former hauing indured the heate of the day, whereby thoſe that ſhall ſucceede, may at eaſe labour for their profit, in the moſt ſweete, coole, and temperate ſhade: the action moſt honorable, and the end to the high glory of God, to the erecting of

true religion among Infidells, to the ouerthrow of ſuperſtition and idolatrie, to the winning of many thouſands of wandring ſheepe, vnto Chriſts fold, who now, and till now, haue ſtrayed in the vnknowne paths of Paganiſme, Idolatrie, and ſuperſtition: yea, I ſay the Action being well followed, as by the graue Senators, and worthy aduenturors, it hath beene worthily begunne: will tend to the euerlaſting renowne of our Nation, and to the exceeding good and benefit of our Weale publicke in generall: whoſe Counſells, labours, godly and induſtrious endeuours, I beſeech the mightie *Iehouah* to bleſſe, proſper, and further, with his heauenly ayde, and holy aſſiſtance.

Farewell.

I. H.

A
True relation of ſuch occurrences
and accidents of note, as hath hapned in *Virginia*, ſince the firſt planting of that Collony, *which is now reſident in the South part* thereof, till the laſt returne.

KInde Sir,[1] commendations remembred, &c. You ſhall vnderſtand that after many croſſes in the downes by tempeſts[2] wee arrived ſafely vppon the Southweſt part of the great Canaries: within foure or fiue daies after we ſet ſaile for Dominica, the 26. of Aprill: the firſt land we made, wee fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the

[1] There is no clue given to the perſon to whom this narrative is addreſſed.

[2] "On the 19 of December, 1606. we ſet ſayle from Blackwall, but by vnproſperous winds were kept ſix weekes in the ſight of *England*." — *Smith's Generall Hiſtorie, London*, 1624, p. 41. The volume here cited is chiefly a compilation of the writings of various authors, including the moſt of Smith's previous publications, relating to this country; and, as regards the text of the latter, certainly with ſome changes and additions. The paſſage quoted is from that part of the work which had been originally printed at Oxford in 1612, in a tract entitled "Map of Virginia," &c. The firſt

Bay of Chiſſiapiacke,[1] which at that preſent we little expected, hauing by a cruell ſtorme bene put to the

part of this tract, being chiefly topographical and geographical, was written by Smith, as he ſays ("General Hiſtorie," p. 39), "with his owne hand;" the ſecond part, which is here cited, was not originally written by Smith, but by his companions. Although I have both the Oxford tract and the "Generall Hiſtorie" before me, I shall quote from the "Generall Hiſtorie," the later work. Where important variations occur, I ſhall notice them.

"On Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell from *London*, and the fift of Ianuary we anchored in the *Downes:* but the winds continued contrarie ſo long, that we were forced to ſtay there ſome time, where wee ſuffered great ſtormes, but by the ſkilfulneſſe of the Captaine wee ſuffered no great loſſe or danger."—*Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1685. The Honorable George Percy, here cited, was one of the firſt comers, and ſubſequently became a temporary governor of the colony. He was a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and a "gentleman of great honor, courage, and induſtry." He probably came with no intention of remaining permanently in the colony. Purchas gives us only that portion of the narrative of Percy down to the laſt of September, 1607. How much he omitted, alas! we have no means of knowing. "The reſt," he says, "is omitted, being more fully ſet downe in Cap. Smiths Relations."

[1] This paſſage ſhould be punctuated thus: "Within four or five days after, we ſet ſail for Dominica. The 26th of April, the firſt land we made, we fell with Cape Henry," &c.

"The foure and twentieth day [of February, 1606–7,] we anchored at *Dominico*. . . . The tenth day [of April] we . . . diſimboged out of the Weſt *Indies*, and bare our courſe Northerly. The fourteenth day we paſſed the Tropicke of *Cancer*. The one and twentieth day, about fiue a clocke at night there began a vehement tempeſt, which laſted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders, in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, becauſe we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day, wee ſounded; and the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth day, but we could find no ground. The fiue and twentieth day we ſounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom. The ſix and twentieth day of Aprill, about foure a clocke in the morning, wee deſcried the Land of *Virginia:* the ſame day wee entred into the Bay of *Cheſupioc* directly."—*Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. pp. 1685, 1686.

Northward: anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a ſhore with the Captain, and in comming aboard, they were aſſalted with certaine Indians,[1] which charged them within Piſtoll ſhot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were ſhot: whereupon, Captaine Newport ſeconding them, made a ſhot at them, which the Indians little reſpected, but hauing ſpent their arrowes retyred without harme, and in that place was the Box opened, wherein the Counſell for Virginia was nominated:[2] and arriuing at the place where wee are now ſeated, the Counſel was ſworn, & the Preſident elected, which for that yeare was Maiſter

[1] They went aſhore at Cape Henry, and "were aſſaulted by fiue Salvages" ("Generall Hiſtorie," p. 42) of the Cheſapeake or Nansemond tribe.

[2] "That night was the box opened ['Their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arriued in *Virginia*.' — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 41.] and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Goſnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Chriſtopher Newport*, *Iohn Ratcliffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councell, and to chooſe a Preſident amongſt them for a yeare, who with the Councell ſhould gouerne. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the Preſident had two voyces. Vntil the 13 of May they ſought a place to plant in, then the Councell was ſworne, Mr. *Wingfield* was choſen Preſident, and an oration made, why Captain *Smith* was not admitted of the Counſell as the reſt." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 42. Smith "was not admitted of the counſell" for the reaſon that he had been "ſuſpected for a ſuppoſed Mutinie," on the voyage over; "though neuer no ſuch matter." — *Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1685. He was ſubſequently reſtored. Although Captain *Newport* was named of the Council, yet he "was hired onely for our tranſportation," and "was to returne with the ſhips." He "was eſteemed a Mariner of Ability and Experience on the *American* Coaſts." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, pp. 42, 43. *Stith's Virginia*, pp. 42, 47.

Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our ſcituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention paſſed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Goſnold, notwithſtanding all our prouiſion was brought a ſhore, and with as much ſpeede as might bee wee went about our fortification.[1]

[1] Jameſtown, the firſt permanent Engliſh ſettlement within the limits of the preſent United States, was on a peninſula on the north ſide of the Powhatan, now James, River, about forty miles from its mouth. — *Stith*, p. 45.

The ſettlement or "landing" at Jameſtown was begun, according to Percy, on the 14th of May. He gives a minute account of the movements of the coloniſts from the time of their arrival within the Bay of Cheſapeake till their ſelection of and landing on this ſpot, an interval which is ſupplied by no other narrator of theſe early events. The opening of the box which contained "their orders for government," was, as we have just ſeen, on the night of their arrival at Cape Henry, on the 26th of April. On the 27th, they began to "build vp" their ſhallop, while a party marched eight miles up into the land. Theſe ſaw no Indians, but met with many newly roaſted oyſters. The 28th, they launched their ſhallop, and "the Captaine and ſome Gentlemen went in her and diſcouered vp the Bay," and found "a Riuer on the Southſide running into the Maine." After exploring for ſome time, and finding good ſtore of muſcles and oyſters, goodly trees, and flowers of diuers kinds and colors, and alſo ſtrawberries, they ſtood back to their ſhips, "which road at the mouth of the Riuer." They found the water ſhallow; but, rowing over to a point of land where they found from ſix to twelve fathoms of water, they were put "in good comfort," and named the place "Cape Comfort," or "Point Comfort," the name it bears to-day. On the 29th, they ſet up a croſs at Cheſapeake Bay, and named the place "Cape Henry," after Prince Henry, the ſon of James I. Subſequently, the oppoſite point was named for this prince's younger brother, Charles, afterwards the unfortunate king, Charles I. The next day, they brought their ſhips over to Point Comfort, and, manning their ſhallop, coaſted to the Indian town "Kecoughtan," now Hampton, where they were kindly received. They continued on up the river, and had interviews with the chiefs of

The two and twenty day of Aprill,[1] Captain Newport and myſelfe with diuers others, to the number of

two of the Indian tribes reſiding in the neighborhood. On the 8th of May, they "landed in the Countrey of *Apamatica*," where they ſaw "many ſtout and able Sauages." On the 12th, they went back to their ſhips, which lay at Point Comfort; and, perhaps on their return again up the river with their veſſels, "diſcouered a point of Land called *Archer's Hope*." There the party would have made a ſettlement, "if it had not beene diſliked, becauſe the ſhip could not ride neere the ſhore. . . . The thirteenth day wee came to our ſeating place in *Paspihas* countrey, ſome eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our ſhippes doe lie ſo neere the ſhoare that they are moored to the Trees in ſix fathom water." — *Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. pp. 1687, 1688.

[1] May is of courſe here intended. In the minute and valuable "Relatyon" of the diſcovery of James River, publiſhed in the "Archæologia Americana," vol. iv. pp. 40–65, the writer ſays, "Thurſday, the 21ſt of May, Capt. Newport (having fitted our ſhallop with proviſion and all neceſſaryes belonging to a diſcovery) took five gentlemen, four maryners, and fourteen ſaylors; with whome he proceeded, with a perfect reſolutyon not to returne, but either to finde the head of this ryver, the laake mentyoned by others heretofore, the ſea againe, the mountaynes Apalatſi [Appalachian?], or ſome iſſue."

The names of the diſcoverers were theſe: —

Capt. Chriſtop. Newport.
George Percye, Eſq.,
Capt. Gabriell Archer,
Capt. Jhon Smyth,
Mr. Jhon Brooks,
Mr. Thomas Wotton,

Maryners.

Francys Nellſon,
John Collſon,
Robert Tyndall,
Mathew Fytch.

1. Jonas Poole,
2. Robert Markham,
3. John Crookdeck,
4. Olyver Browne,
5. Benjamyn White,
6. Rych. Genoway,
7. Tho. Turnbrydg,
8. Tho. Godword,
9. Robert Jackſon,
10. Charles Clarke,
11. Stephen [ſic],
12. Thomas Skynner,
13. Jeremy Deale,
14. Danyell [ſic].

"Thus from James Fort wee took our leave about noone; and by night we were up the ryver thirteen myle, at a lowe meadow point, which I call Wynauk. . . . Here we anckored all night." It will be

twenty two perſons, ſet forward to diſcouer the Riuer, ſome fiftie or ſixtie miles, finding it in ſome places broader, & in ſome narrower, the Countrie (for the moſte part) on each ſide plaine high ground, with many freſh Springes, the people in all places kindely entreating vs, daunſing and feaſting vs with ſtrawberies, Mulberies, Bread, Fiſh, and other their Countrie prouiſions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindely requited their leaſt fauours, with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades or Glaſſes, which ſo contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindely to reſpect vs. In the midway ſtaying to refreſh our ſelues in a little Ile[1] foure or fiue ſauages came vnto vs which deſcribed vnto vs the courſe of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs, trading with vs for such prouiſion as wee had, and arriuing at Arſatecke,[2] hee

seen, further on, that Smith speaks of "Weanock" as "ſome twentie miles from our Fort." On his map, he places "Weanock" at the mouth of the "Appamatuck" River; which is a miſtake, if intended to repreſent the place at which the party on this expedition anchored the firſt night. On Fry and Jefferſon's map of Virginia, published in the year 1776, "Weynock" is placed near a point of land on the north, oppoſite "Flower de Hundred Creek," which is a little to the weſt of the preſent Fort Powhatan, about twenty miles from Jamestown. It is not improbable that "Weanock" repreſented a conſiderable extent of country on both ſides the river.

[1] Perhaps near the preſent "Turkey Point."—*Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc.* for Oct., 1864, p. 63, note †. This was on the ſecond day, May 22, according to the "Relatyon" cited above. The number of Indians they met here is deſcribed as *eight*. The ſecond night they paſſed at a place they called "Poore Cottage." Percy calls it "Port Cotage."

[2] Or "Arrohateck," laid down on Smith's map as a little above the

whom we ſuppoſed to bee the chiefe King of all the reſt, moſte kindely entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs up the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vſed vs kindely. But to finiſh this diſcouerie, we paſſed on further, where within an ile we were intercepted with great craggy ſtones y^e^ in[1] midſt of the riuer, where the water falleth ſo rudely, and with ſuch a violence, as not any boat can poſſibly paſſe,[2] and ſo broad diſperſeth the ſtreame, as there is not paſt fiue or ſixe foote at a low water, and to the ſhore ſcarce paſſage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freſhes by reaſon of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The South ſide is plaine low ground, and the north ſide high mountaines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of gliſtring ſpangles. That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitſunday[3] after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured

ſpot ſince called "Farrar's Iſland," or the now famous "Dutch Gap;" probably near "Cox's Ferry." This was on the 23d, Saturday. The chief whom the party here met was not the Emperor, as was at firſt ſuppoſed, but an inferior king, or "Werowance," who reſided at a place called "Powhatan," one of the "ſeats" of the Emperor, to which the explorers were invited. This place was within a mile of the Falls, now Richmond.

[1] "In the midſt."

[2] This is the fall at the preſent city of Richmond.

[3] The 24th of May.

for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) ſo there we erected a croſſe,[1] and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet; returning to Arſetecke,[2] and ſtayed there the next day[3] to obſerve the height thereof. & ſo with many ſignes of loue we departed. The next day the Queene of Agamatack kindely intreated vs,[4] her people being no leſſe contented then the reſt, and from thence we went to another place, (the name whereof I do not remember) where the people ſhewed vs the manner of their diuing for Muſſels, in which they finde Pearles.[5]

That night paſſing by Weanock ſome twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churliſh condition, ſeemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of Weanocke,[6] the people the next morning ſeemed kindely to content vs,

[1] "With this inſcriptyon, 'Iacobus Rex, 1607;' and Percy ſays they named the River, King's Riuer, and "proclaimed King James of England to have the moſt right vnto it."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1689; *A Relatyon*, &c., p. 47.

[2] Where they ſpent Sunday night.

[3] Monday, the 25th.

[4] Tueſday, the 26th. A minute deſcription of this queen of Appomattox is given in the "Relatyon" of this diſcovery cited above, p. 51.

[5] It was to one of "King Pomaunche's howſes, ſome five myle from the queene's bower," that they were now directed, and where they were very "kyndly ſaluted."—*Ibid.*, p. 52.

[6] By this it appears that "the point of Weanocke" was a little diſtance ſouth of the Indian village of that name.

yet we might perceiue many ſignes of a more Jealouſie in them then before, and alſo the Hinde that the King of Arſeteck had giuen vs,[1] altered his reſolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumſtances left vs there. This gaue vs ſome occaſion to doubt ſome miſchiefe at the Fort, yet Capt. Newport intended to haue viſited Paſpahegh and Tappahanocke,[2] but the inſtant change of the winde being faire for our return we repaired to the fort with all ſpeed,[3] where the firſt we heard was that 400. Indians the day before had aſſalted the fort, & ſuppriſed it, had not God, (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the ſhippes at whom they ſhot with their Ordinances & Muſkets, cauſed them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then buſied in ſetting Corne, their armes beeing then in driefats[4] & few ready but certain Gentlemẽ of their own, in which conflict, moſt of the Counſel was hurt, a boy ſlaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt.

[1] His name was "Navirans." — *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[2] Two chiefs or tribes reſiding on the James river, a few miles above Jameſtown. The reſidence of the former is indicated on Smith's map as on the north ſide of the river; and that of the latter, whoſe name as here ſpelled is a corruption of "Coiacohanauke" or "Quiyoughcohanock," on the ſouth ſide. Percy calls the chief of the latter tribe "the Werowance of *Rapahanna*." The name "Paſpahegh" was applied by the Indians to the territory which included Jameſtown. — *Wingfield's Diſcourſe of Virginia*, *in Archæl. Amer.* vol. iv. pp. 78, 79; *Hamor's True Diſcovery*, &c., London, 1615, p. 38; *Strachey*, p. 56; *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 23.

[3] They arrived at the fort on the 27th of May. — *A Relatyon*, *&c.*, p. 54.

[4] Dryfat. A baſket for dry things.

Withall ſpeede we palliſadoed our Fort: (each other day) for ſixe or ſeauen daies we had alarums by ambuſcadoes, and foure or fiue cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians loſſe wee know not, but as they report three were ſlain and diuers hurt.[1]

Captaine Newport hauing ſet things in order, ſet

[1] "The 26th of May, being the day before our returne, there came above two hundred of them, with their kyng, and gave a very furious affault to our forte; endaungering their overthrowe, had not the ſhippe's ordinance, with their ſmall ſhott, daunted them. They came up allmoſt into the forte; ſhott through the tents; appeared in this ſkirmiſhe (which indured hott about an hower) a very valient people. They hurt us eleven (whereof one dyed after) and killed a boy; yet perceived they not this hurt in us. We killed dyvers of them; but one wee ſaw them tugg off on their backs, and how many hurt we knowe not. . . . Foure of the counſell, that ſtood in front, were hurt in mayntayning the forte; and our preſident, Mr. Wynckfeild (who ſhowed himſelfe a valiant gentleman) had one ſhott cleane through his bearde, yet ſcaped hurte."—*A Relatyon*, &c., as above, pp. 54, 55. The narrative in the "Generall Hiſtorie" ſays there were "17 men hurt and a boy ſlaine" in this attack. This led the coloniſts to ſee the importance of completing their fortification, on which they at once engaged. Percy ſays, "The fifteenth day of June we had built and finiſhed our Fort, which was triangle wiſe, hauing three Bulwarkes at euery corner like a halfe Moone, and foure or fiue pieces of Artillerie mounted in them; we had made our ſelues ſufficiently ſtrong for theſe ſauages, &c."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1689. The ſavages ſtill continued to lurk around the fort, but ſcarcely dared to venture within muſket-ſhot. On Sunday, the 31ſt of May, "they came lurking in the thickets and long graſſe, and a gentleman, one Euſtace Clovell, unarmed, ſtragling without the forte, [they] ſhott ſix arrowes into him; wherewith he came runinge into the fort, crying, 'Arme, arme!' thes ſtycking ſtill. He lived eight dayes, and dyed."—*A Relatyon*, &c., p. 55. "What toyle we had, with ſo ſmall a power to guard our workemen adays, watch all night, reſiſt our enemies, and effect our buſineſſe, to relade the ſhips . . . and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c., I referre to the Readers conſideration. Six weekes being ſpent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for ovr tranſ-

ſaile for England the 22d of June, leauing prouiſion for 13. or 14 weeks. The day before the Ships departure, the King of Pamaunke ſent the Indian that had met vs before in our diſcouerie, to aſſure vs peace, our fort being then paliſadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that throgh ſome diſcentented humors, it did not ſo long continue, for the Preſident and Captaine Goſnold, with the reſt of the Counſell, being for the moſte part

portation) was to returne with the ſhips. Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was reſtrained as a priſoner vpon the ſcandalous ſuggeſtions of ſome of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vſurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himſelfe King, that his confederats were diſperſed in all the three ſhips, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed as a priſoner: thirteene weekes he remained thus ſuſpected, and by that time the ſhips ſhould returne, they pretended out of their commiſſerations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his deſignes make him ſo odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow his reputation." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, pp. 42, 43. But by Capt. Newport's interceſſion, as appears by the "Relation" before cited (pp. 56, 57), harmony was reſtored, and Smith was "ſworne one of the counſell," to which he had been elected in England. This was on the 10th of June. Other intereſting incidents are narrated as taking place up to the time of the ſailing of Newport. On the 15th, "We wrought upon Clapborde for England." On Sunday, the 21ſt, the Communion was adminiſtered. Percy ſays that Newport left in the colony at this time 104 perſons. In the "Generall Hiſtorie," p. 43, it is erroneouſly ſtated that the number of the firſt planters was 100. The more correct ſtatement, that the number was 105, is in the original narrative in the Oxford tract of 1612. Perhaps Mr. Clovell was the only perſon who had died, belonging to the party of the coloniſts, up to this time. The date of Newport's ſailing is wrongly given in the "Generall Hiſtorie" as the 15th. He failed a week later, the 22d; and this date in the text is confirmed by Percy, and by the writer in the "Relatyon," cited above.

diſcontented with one another in ſo much, that things were neither carried with that diſcretion nor any buſines effected in ſuch good ſort as wiſdome would, nor our owne good, and ſafetie required, wherby, and through the hard dealing of our Preſident, the reſt of the counſell beeing diuerſlie affected through his audacious commaund, and for Captaine Martin, (albeit verie honeſt) and wiſhing the beſt good, yet ſo ſicke and weake, and my ſelfe ſo diſgrac'd through others mallice, through which diſorder God (being angrie with vs) plagued vs with ſuch famin and ſicknes, that the liuing were ſcarce able to bury the dead: our want of ſufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching, foure or fiue each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cauſe: onely of Sturgion wee had great ſtore, whereon our men would ſo greedily ſurfet, as it coſt manye their liues: the Sack, Aquauitie, and other preſeruatiues for our health, being kept onely in the Preſidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few aſſociates: ſhortly after Captaine Goſnold fell ſicke, and within three weekes died,[1] Captaine Ratcliffe being then alſo verie ſicke and weake, and my ſelfe hauing alſo taſted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods aſſiſtāce being well recouered. Kendall about this time, for diuers reaſons depoſed from being of the Councell: and ſhortly after it pleaſed God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to bring vs Corne,

[1] Goſnold died 22 Auguſt.—*Percy, in Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1690.

ere it was halfe ripe, to refreſh vs, when we rather expected when they would deſtroy vs: about the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead,[1] at which time Captaine Wingefield hauing

[1] "From May, to September, thoſe that eſcaped liued vpon Sturgeon and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 44. "We myſſed aboue fforty before September did ſee us." — *Wingfield*, as above, p. 79. Percy gives a ſad picture of the ſufferings and mortality of the coloniſts at this time; and the reader cannot fail to notice a ſtriking parallel between their condition and that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth during the firſt winter and ſpring. He gives the names of *twenty-three* persons who died between the 6th Auguſt and the 19th September, incluſive, embracing the name of Bartholomew Goſnold, who died the 22d Auguſt. "Our men," he ſays, "were deſtroyed with cruell diſeaſes, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres, and ſome departed ſuddenly; but for the moſt part they died of meere famine. There were neuer *Engliſhmen* left in a forreigne Countrey in ſuch miſerie as wee were in this new diſcouered *Virginia*. Wee watched euery three nights lying on the bare cold ground what weather ſoeuer came, warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee moſt feeble wretches; our food was but a ſmall Can of Barlie ſod in water to fiue men a day, our drinke cold water taken out of the Riuer, which was at a floud verie ſalt, at a low tide full of ſlime and filth, which was the deſtruction of many of our men. Thus we liued for the ſpace of fiue moneths in this miſerable diſtreſſe, not hauing fiue able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occaſion. If it had not pleaſed God to haue put a terrour in the Sauage's hearts, we had all periſhed by thoſe vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake eſtate as we were: our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort moſt pittifull to heare; if there were any conſcience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittiful murmurings & out-cries of our ſick men, without reliefe euery night and day for the ſpace of ſixe weekes, ſome departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this ſort did I ſee the mortalitie of diuers of our people. It pleaſed God, after a while, to ſend thoſe people which were our mortall enemies, to releeue vs with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fiſh, and Fleſh in great plentie, which was the setting vp of our feeble men, otherwiſe wee had all

ordred the affairs in ſuch ſort that he was generally hated of all, in which reſpect with one conſent he was depoſed from his preſidencie, and Captaine Ratcliffe according to his courſe was elected.[1]

Our prouiſion being now within twentie dayes ſpent, the Indians brought vs great ſtore both of Corne and bread ready made: and alſo there came ſuch aboundance of Fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refreſhed our weake eſtates, wherevppon many of our weake men were preſently able to goe abroad. As yet we had no houſes[2] to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and

periſhed."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1690. This ſad condition of the colony is alſo confirmed in "A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia during the firſt twelve years when Sr Thomas Smyth was Governor of the Companie [from 1606 to 1619], and downe to this preſent tyme [1624], by the Ancient Planters now remaining alive in Virginia;" a manuſcript copy of which, from the original in the State-Paper Office, is in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Bancroft. On the arrival of Newport with the firſt ſupply, in January, 1608, it is here ſtated that he "found the colony conſiſtinge of no more than Forty perſons; of those, tenn only able men."

[1] Wingfield was depoſed 10th September. The charges here made againſt him are repeated in the narrative in the "Generall Hiſtorie," which is uniformly favorable, if not deſignedly partial, to Smith. But Wingfield defends his adminiſtration of affairs in Virginia in a paper entitled a "Diſcourſe of Virginia," firſt publiſhed, in 1860, in the "Archæologia Americana," vol. iv., pp. 76–103, already referred to above, and which ſhould be read in connection with the other narratives.

[2] The opportunities for public worſhip poſſeſſed by the coloniſts in the early ſettlement are well deſcribed by Smith in one of his later publications: "When I went firſt to *Virginia*, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old ſaile) to three or foure trees to ſhadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our ſeats unhewed trees, till we cut plankes, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees; in foule weather we ſhifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new; this was our Church, till wee built

our Cabbins worſe then nought: our beſt commoditie was Yron which we made into little chiſſels,[1] the preſident, and Captaine Martins ſicknes, conſtrayned me to be Cape Marchant,[2] and yet to ſpare no pains in making houſes for the company, who notwithſtanding our miſery, little ceaſed their mallice, grudging and muttering. As at this time were moſt of our chiefeſt men either ſicke or diſcontented, the reſt being in such diſpaire, as they would rather ſtarue and rot with idlenes, then be perſwaded to do any thing for their owne reliefe without conſtraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes ſpent, and the Indians trade decreaſing, I was ſent to the mouth of ye riuer, to

a homely thing like a barne, ſet upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, ſedge, and earth, ſo was alſo the walls: the beſt of our houſes of the like curioſity, but the most part farre much worſe workmanſhip, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Miniſter [Robert Hunt, the firſt clergyman of the colony, 'an honeſt, religious, and courageous Divine'] died, but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies; we continued two or three yeares after till more Preachers came: and ſurely God did moſt mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of miſtaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere conſumed us all, as the Iſraelites in the wilderneſſe." — *Advertiſements for Unexperienced Planters*, &c., London, 1631, pp. 32, 33.

[1] A period here.

[2] Or Treaſurer. Thomas Studly had before held this office; and we may ſuppoſe Percy refers to him when he ſays, "The eight and twentieth day [of Auguſt] died *Thomas Stoodie*, Cape Merchant;" though Studly's name is given, in the second part of the "Map of Virginia" (the Oxford tract before referred to), as the authority for a narrative of events running into a later period. Poſſibly ſome of thoſe whoſe names are appended to this part of the narrative, as it appears in its enlarged form in the "Generall Hiſtorie," may have written a portion of it as originally publiſhed.

Kegquouhtan[1] an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the Riuer for Fiſh, but our fiſhing we could not effect by reaſon of the ſtormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famiſhed, with careleſſe kindnes, offred vs little pieces of bread, & ſmall handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In the like maner I entertained their kindnes, and in like ſcorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that ſhewed extraordinary kindenes, I liberally contented with free gifte, ſuch trifles as wel cõtented them: finding this colde comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the abſolute diſpoſer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no leſſe deſirous of our commodities than we of their Corne: vnder colour to fetch freſh water, I sent a man to diſcouer the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they deſired me up to their houſes: which well vnderſtanding, with foure ſhot I viſited them, with fiſh, oyſters, bread and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no leſſe in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs, for well I might with twentie men haue fraighted a Shippe with Corne: The Towne conteineth eighteene houſes, pleaſantly ſeated

[1] Now Hampton. The account of this expedition, in the ſecond part of the "Map of Virginia," is very briefly given; but it is much enlarged in the "Generall Hiſtorie;" and a very extravagant ſtory of a fight with the Indians, and other details, are given, quite inconſiſtent with this account, and probably with the truth.

vpon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Bay of the great Riuer, the other parte with a Baye of the other Riuer falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Caſtle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of ſixtie yardes. With ſixteene buſhells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountered with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboord me, being the inhabitants of waroſkoyack,[1] a kingdome on the ſouth ſide of the riuer, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: with theſe I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouiſion, requeſted me to returne to their Towne, where I ſhould load my boat with corne, & with near thirtie buſhells I returned to the fort, the very name wherof gaue great comfort to our deſpairing company: time thus paſſing away, & hauing not aboue 14. daies vituals left, ſome motiõs were made about our preſidents & Capt. Archers going for England, to procure a ſupply, in which meane time we had reaſonablly fitted vs with houſes, and our Preſident & Capt. Martin being able to walk abroad, with much ado it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge ſhould goe towards Powhatan,[2] to trade for corne: Lotts were caſt who should go in her, the chance was mine,

[1] This place may be ſeen on Smith's map, on the ſouth ſide of the Powhatan or James River, a little below "Hog Iſle."

[2] That is, to the place bearing that name, near the "falls," on James River. — See page 7; alſo Smith's map.

& while ſhe was a rigging, I made a voiage to Topohanack, where ariuing, there was but certain women & children who fled from their houſes, yet at laſt I drew them to draw neere, truck they durſt not, corne they had plenty, & to ſpoil I had no cõmiſſion: In my returne to Paſpahegh,[1] I traded with that churliſh & trecherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 buſhels of corne, they offred to take our pieces and ſwords, yet by ſtelth, but ſeeming to diſlike it, they were ready to aſſault vs, yet ſtãding vpon our guard in coaſting the ſhore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corn & trade, but leaſt we ſhould be conſtrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly fal to reuenge, ſeeing them dog vs, from place to place, it being night, & our neceſſitie not fit for warres, we tooke occaſion to returne with 10 buſhells of corne: Cap. Martin after made 2 iournies to that nation of Paſpahegh but eache time returned with 8. or 10. buſhells. All things being now ready for my iourney to Powhatan, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my ſelfe for the barge, as well for discouerie, as trading, the Pinnace, 5. Marriners, & 2. landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places.[2] The 9 of Nouember I ſet forward for the

[1] See page 9, note 2. I infer from this, and from other paſſages, that "Paſpahegh," or the residence of the Indians of that tribe, was nearer to Jameſtown than "Topohanack," or, as it is called on Smith's map, "Quiyoughcohanock." The former was on the north, and the latter on the ſouth, ſide of James River.

[2] If this journey was made to Pow-

diſcouery of the country of Chikhamania, leaving the pinnace the next tide to followe and ſtay for my comming at Point weanock, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuer falleth into the great riuer at Paſpahegh, 8 miles above our fort: that afternoone I ſtayed the eb, in the bay of Paſpahegh with the Indiãs: towards the euening certaine Indians haled me, one of them being of Chickahamania, offred to cõduct me to his country, the Paſpabegheans grudged thereat: along we went by moonelight, at midnight he brought vs before his Towne, deſiring one of our men to go vp with him, whom he kindely intertained, and returned back to the barge: the next morning I went vp to the towne, and ſhewed them what copper and hatchets they ſhold haue for corne, each family ſeeking to giue me moſt content: ſo long they cauſed me to ſtay y^t^ 100 at leaſt was expecting my comming by the riuer with corne, what I liked I bought, and leaſt they ſhould perceiue my too great want I went higher vp the riuer: this place is called Manoſquoſick[1] a quarter of a mile from the riuer, conteining thirtie or fortie houſes, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the riuer, is a plaine wood, watered with many ſpringes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuer: right againſt y^e^ ſame is a great

hatan, at this time, there is no account of it.

[1] "Menoſcoſic" may be ſeen on Smith's map; perhaps ſome ten or twelve miles from the mouth of the Chickahominy, on that river.

marſh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ilands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fiſh & foule of all ſorts: a mile from thence is a Towne called Oraniocke, I further diſcouered the Townes of Manſa, Apahaocke, Werawahone, & Mamanahũt[1] at eche place kindely vſed, eſpecially at the laſt, being the hart of the Country, where were aſſembled 200. people with ſuch aboũdãce of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as alſo I might haue laded a ſhip:[2] I returned to Paſpahhegh, & conſidering ye want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with ye ebb, by midnight I ariued at our fort, where I found our Pinnis run aground: the next morning I vnladed ſeauẽ hogſheds into our ſtore, the next morning I returned againe: the ſecond day I ariued at Mamanahũt, wher ye people hauing heard of my cõming, were ready with 3 or 400. baſkets litle & great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many ſignes of great kindnes I returned: at my departure they requeſted me to hear our pieces, being in the midſt of the riuer, which in regard of ye eccho ſeemed a peale of ordnance, many birds and fowles they ſee vs dayly kil that much feared them,[3] ſo deſirous of trade wer they, y^t^ they would follow me with their canowes, & for any thing giue it me, rather then returne it back: ſo I vnladed again 7 or 8. hogſheads at our fort. Hauing thus by Gods aſſiſtance gotten

[1] "Werawahon" and "Mamanhunt" are indicated on Smith's map.

[2] A comma.

[3] A period.

good ſtore of corne, notwithſtanding ſome bad ſpirits not content with Gods prouidence, ſtill grew mutinous, in ſo much, that our preſident hauing ocaſion to chide the ſmith for his miſdeamenor, he not only gaue him bad language, but alſo offred to ſtrike him with ſome of his tooles, for which rebellious act, the ſmith was by a Jury condemned to be hanged, but being vppon the ladder continuing verry obſtinate, as hoping vpon a reſcue: when he ſaw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, & declared a dangerous conſpiracy, for which Captaine Kendall as principal, was by a Jury condẽned & ſhot to death.[1] This conſpiracy appeaſed, I ſet forward for the diſcouery of the Riuer of Checka Hamania: this third time I diſcouered ye Townes of Matapamient, Morinogh, Aſcacap, moyſenock Righkahauck, Nechanichock, Mattalũt, Attamuſpincke,[2] & diuers others, their plenty of corne I found decreaſed, yet lading the barge, I returned to our fort: our ſtore being now indifferently wel prouided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, againſt which Captain Martin & my ſelfe, ſtanding chiefly againſt it, and in

[1] "The Preſident did beat James Read, the Smyth. The Smythe ſtroake him againe. For this he was condempned to be hanged; but, before he was turned of the lather, he deſired to ſpeak with the Preſident in private, to whome he accuſed Mr. Kendall of a mutiny, and ſo eſcaped himſelf. . . . Mr. Kendall was executed, being ſhott to death for a mutiny." — *Wingfield's Diſcourſe, in Archæl. Amer.*, vol. iv. pp. 90, 91.

[2] See Smith's map, where many of theſe places are laid down.

fine after many debatings, pro & contra, it was reolued[1] to ſtay a further reſolutiõ: this matter alſo quieted, I ſet forward[2] to finiſh this diſcouery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of ye neceſſitie we had to take in prouiſion while it was to be had: 40. miles I paſſed vp ye riuer, which for the moſt part is a quarter of a mile broad, & 3. fatham & a half deep, exceeding oſey, many great low marſhes, & many high lãds, eſpecially about ye midſt at a place called Moyſonicke,[3] a Peninſule of 4. miles cicuit, betwixt two riuers ioyned to the main, by a necke of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke: on both ſides in the very neck of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marſh, more plentie of ſwannes, cranes, geeſe, duckes, and mallards, & diuers ſorts of fowles none would deſire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in ſuch great proportions as there I had not ſeene, of a light blacke ſandy mould, the cliffes commonly red, white and yellowe colored ſand, & vnder red & white clay, fiſh great plenty, & people aboundance, the moſt of their inhabitants, in view of ye neck of Land, where a bet-

[1] "Reſolued."

[2] "The 10th of December."—*Wingfield*, as above, p. 92.

[3] "Moyſonec" is laid down, on Smith's map, on a peninſula, which would ſeem to correſpond to that formed by the junction of "Diaſcund Creek," with the Chickahominy. It is ſome twelve or fifteen miles from the mouth of that river. I ſuppoſe Smith does not mean to ſay that this place is forty miles up the river, but "about ye midſt," or half way that diſtance.

ter ſeat for a towne cannot be deſired: at the end of forty miles this riuer inuironeth many low Ilands, at each high water drowned for a mile, where it vniteth it ſelfe, at a place called Apokant the higheſt Towne inhabited.[1] 10. miles higher I diſcouered with the barge. in the mid way, a great tree hindred my paſſage which I cut in two: heere the riuer became narrower, 8. 9 or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the ſtreame exceeding ſwift, & the bottom hard channell, the ground moſt part a low plaine, ſandy ſoyle, this occaſioned me to ſuppoſe it might iſſue from ſome lake or ſome broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge, yet to haue beene able to reſolue this doubt, & to diſcharge the imputation of malicious tungs, that halfe ſuſpected I durſt not for ſo long delaying, ſome of the company as deſirous as my ſelf, we reſolued to hier a Canow, and returne with the barge to Apocant, there to leaue the barge ſecure, and put our ſelues vppon the aduenture: the country onely a vaſt and wilde wildernes, and but onely that Towne: within three or foure mile we hired a Canow, and 2. Indians to row vs ye next day a fowling: hauing made ſuch prouiſion for the barge as was needfull, I left her there to ride, with expreſſe charge not any to go aſhore til my re-

[1] "Orapaks," one of the reſidences of the Emperor Powhatan, is indicated on our author's map as above the place there spelled "Apocant," on or near this river. The river is not delineated beyond; but Smith's diſcoveries, at this time, muſt have extended further.

turne.[1] Though ſome wiſe men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiſcretion, yet if they well cõſider the friendſhip of the Indians, in conducting me, the deſolatenes of the country, the propabilitie of ſome lacke, & the malicious iudges of my actions at home, as alſo to haue ſome matters of worth to incourage our aduenturers in england, might well haue cauſed any honeſt minde to haue done the like, as wel for his own diſcharge as for the publike good: hauing 2 Indians for my guide & 2 of our own company, I ſet forward, leauing 7 in the barge: hauing diſcouered 20 miles further in this deſart, the riuer ſtil kept his depth and bredth, but much more combred with trees: here we went aſhore (being ſome 12 miles higher then ye barge had bene)[2] to refreſh our selues, during the boyling of our vituals: one of the Indians I tooke with me, to ſee the nature of the ſoile, & to croſſe the boughts[3] of the riuer, the other Indian I left with M. Robbinſon and Thomas Emry, with their matches light[4] and order to diſcharge a peece, for my retreat at the firſt ſight of any Indian, but within a

[1] "But hee was not long abſent, but his men went a ſhore, whoſe want of government gaue both occaſion and opportunity to the Salvages to ſurpriſe one *George Caſſen*, whom they ſlew, and much failed not to haue cut of the boat and all the reſt."—*Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 46.

[2] It appears that the party at firſt went ten miles above "Apocant" with the barge. They then returned to that place, where Smith left the barge, with ſeven men in it; and, hiring a canoe and two Indians, with two of his own company, went again up the river, "ſome twelve miles higher than the barge had been."

[3] The "bendings" of the river.

[4] Theſe guns were matchlocks.

quarter of an houre I heard a loud cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece, ſuppoſing them ſurpriſed, and that the Indians had betraid vs,[1] preſently I ſeazed him[2] & bound his arme faſt to my hand in a garter, with my piſtoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduiſed me to fly, and ſeemed ignorant of what was done, but as we went diſcourſing, I was ſtruck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occaſion I eſpied 2 Indians drawing their bowes, which I preuented in diſcharging a french piſtoll: by that I had charged againe 3 or 4 more did the like, for the firſt fell downe and fled: at my diſcharge they did the like, my hinde I made my barricado who offered not to ſtriue, 20. or 30. arrowes were ſhot at me but ſhort, 3 or 4 times I had diſcharged my piſtoll ere the king of Pamaũck called Opeckãkenough[3] with 200 men, inuironed me, eache

[1] He refers to the two Indians who were then with them. The following paſſage from the "Generall Hiſtorie," page 46, does not appear in the narrative as originally printed in the "Map of Virginia"; viz., "The Salvages hauing drawne from George Caſſen [who had been left below with others in the Barge] whether [whither?] Captaine Smith was gone, proſecuting that opportunity, they followed him with 300. bowmen," &c.

[2] The Indian he had with him.

[3] This chief of the Pamaunkeys was the ſecond brother of Powhatan. On the death of the latter in 1618, at an advanced age, he was ſucceeded, according to the regular order of ſucceſſion, by his brother, *Opitchapan*, next in age to himſelf, "who is ſometimes called *Itopatin* and *Ocatan*;" and who, upon his acceſſion, again changed his name to *Saſawpen*, "as *Opechancanough*, upon the like occaſion, changed his name to *Mangopeeomen*. *Opitchapan*, being decrepid in body and inert in mind, was in a ſhort time practically ſucceeded in the government by his younger, bolder, and more ambitious brother, the famous *Opechancanough*." —

drawing their bowe, which done they laid them vpon the ground, yet without ſhot, my hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace, he diſcouered me to be the Captaine, my requeſt was to retire to ye boate, they demaunded my armes, the reſt they ſaide were ſlaine, onely me they would reſerue: the Indian importuned me not to ſhoot. In retiring being in the midſt of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my ſteps, I ſtept faſt into the quagmire, and alſo the Indian in drawing me forth: thus ſurpriſed, I reſolued to trie their mercies, my armes I caſte from me, till which none durſt approch me: being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King, I preſented him with a compaſſe diall, deſcribing by my beſt meanes the vſe therof, whereat he ſo amazedly admired, as he ſuffered me to proceed in a diſcourſe of the roundnes of the earth, the courſe of the ſunne, moone, ſtarres and plannets, with kinde ſpeeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and John Robbinſon ſlaine, with 20 or 30. arrowes in him. Emry I ſaw not, I perceiued by the aboundance of fires all ouer the woods, at each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they vſed me with

Stith, p. 155; *Campbell*, p. 131. This chief acted an important part in the hiſtory of Virginia for twenty-five years, dying, in 1640, at nearly an hundred years of age. In 1616, he was choſen by the Chickahomines to be their king or "Werowance." This tribe, "a warlike and free people," had only a nominal dependence on Powhatan, and had been governed, not by a king, but by their prieſts and elders. — *Strachey*, pp. 61, 62; *Stith*, p. 141.

what kindnes they could: approaching their Towne,[1] which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occaſion requires: all the women and children, being aduertiſed of this accident, came foorth to meet them, the King well guarded with 20 bowmen 5 flanck and rear, and each flanck before him a ſword & a peece, and after him the like, then a bowman, then I on each hand a boweman, the reſt in file in the reare, which reare led foorth amongſt the trees in a biſhion,[2] eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiuer at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a ſargeant, the one running alwaiss towards the front the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order, this being a good time continued, they caſte themſelues in a ring with a daunce, and ſo eache man departed to his lodging, the Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Veniſon and ſome ten pound of bread I had for ſupper, what

[1] This was at "Orapaks" ("Generall Hiſtorie," p. 47), one of the reſidences of the Emperor Powhatan, who, at this time, was living at "Werowocomoco." "Orapaks" was ſome diſtance from "Appocant," up the river, and about twelve miles eaſt or north-eaſt from the Falls near Richmond. — See Campbell's Hiſtory of Virginia, Philadelphia, 1860, p. 130; and alſo conſult Smith's map. Smith muſt have been ſomewhere in the neighborhood of General Sumner's bridges (perhaps further up), on the Chickahominy, when he was taken priſoner. — *See Proceedings Amer. Antiq. Soc. for October*, 1864, p. 58.

[2] "The ſoldiers, all in fyle, performed the forme of a *Biſſom* ſo well as could be." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 47. "Biſhion" or "biſſom" was probably a military term, the meaning of which I am not able ſatisfactorily to explain.

I left was reſerued for me, and ſent with me to my lodging: each morning 3. women preſẽted me three great platters of fine bread, more veniſon then ten men could deuour I had, my gowne, points and garters, my compas and a tablet they gaue me again, though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could deuiſe to content me: and ſtill our longer acquaintance increaſed our better affection: much they threatened to aſſault our forte, as they were ſolicited by the King of Paſpahegh, who ſhewed at our fort great ſignes of ſorrow for this miſchance: the King tooke great delight in vnderſtanding the manner of our ſhips, and ſayling the ſeas, the earth & skies and of our God: what he knew of the dominions he ſpared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan,[1] cloathed like me,[2] the courſe of our riuer, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles, was a great turning of ſalt water: I deſired he would ſend a meſſenger to Paſpahegh,[3] with

[1] See Strachey, p. 26, cited below.

[2] The coloniſts at Jameſtown were eager to get any information concerning Ralegh's loſt colony at Roanoke, hoping that there might yet be ſome ſurvivors; and, ſubſequently, ſearch was made for them. From Strachey's "Hiſtory of Travaile," &c., page 26, publiſhed by the Hakluyt Society in 1849, there is ſome reaſon to believe that ſeven of theſe coloniſts were living at this time. — *See Mr. Hale's Introduction to "Newport's Diſcoveries in Virginia," in Archæol. Amer.* vol. iv. pp. 34–37; alſo Smith, in *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 25; and *Map of Virginia*, p. 9. Purchas has this paſſage on the margin of page 1728, of vol. iv. of his "Pilgrimes": — "Powhatan confeſſed that hee had bin at the murther of that [Ralegh's] Colonie, and ſhewed a Muſket barrell and a braſſe Morter, and certaine peeces of Iron which had bin theirs."

[3] That is, to Jameſtown. — *See page* 9, *note* 2.

a letter I would write, by which they ſhold vnderſtand, how kindly they vſed me, and that I was well, leaſt they ſhould reuenge my death: this he granted and ſent three men, in ſuch weather, as in reaſon were vnpoſſible, by any naked to be indured: their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deuerted, in deſcribing the ordinance & the mines in the fields, as alſo the reuenge Captain Newport would take of them at his returne, their intent, I incerted[1] the fort, the people of Ocanahonum and the back ſea, this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: the next day after my letter, came a ſaluage to my lodging, with his ſword to haue ſlaine me, but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to haue effected his purpoſe: the cauſe I knew not, till the King vnderſtanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my piſtoll: he tould me alſo of another I had ſlayne, yet the moſt concealed they had any hurte: this was the father of him I had ſlayne, whoſe fury to preuent, the King preſently conducted me to another Kingdome, vpon the top of the next northerly riuer, called Youghtanan,[2] hauing feaſted

[1] The author probably means, in this badly written and badly punctuated paſſage, that he *certified* or informed thoſe at the fort of the "intent" of the Indians reſpecting them: he alſo communicated to them what he had heard concerning "the people of Ocanahonum, and the back ſea," &c. "In part of a Table booke, he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended," &c. — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 47.

[2] "Youghtanund" River is the ſame now called "Pamunkey River," which unites with the "Mattapony" (called by Smith "Mattapa-

me, he further led me to another branch of the riuer, called Mattapament,[1] to two other hunting townes they led me, and to each of theſe Countries, a houſe of the great Emperour of Pewhakan,[2] whom as yet I ſuppoſed to bee at the Fals,[3] to him I tolde him I muſt goe, and ſo returne to Paſpahegh, after this foure or fiue dayes march, we returned to Raſawrack,[4] the firſt towne they brought me too, where binding the Mats in bundles, they marched two dayes iourney, and croſſed the Riuer of Youghtanan, where it was as broad as Thames: ſo conducting me too a place called Menapacute[5] in Pamaunke, where ye King inhabited: the next day another King of that nation called Kekataugh,[6] hauing receiued ſome kindnes of me at the Fort, kindly inuited me to feaſt at his houſe, the people from all places flocked to ſee me, each ſhewing to content me. By this the great King[7] hath foure or fiue houſes, each

nient") at Weſt Point, the two there forming the "York River," or the "Pamaunk" of Smith's map.

[1] Or "Mattapanient." See note next preceding.

[2] Probably a miſprint for "Powhatan."

[3] See ante, page 6, note 2.

[4] The firſt town Smith was brought to after he was taken priſoner was "Orapaks." — *See ante, page 27.* If "Raſawrack" is the ſame as "Raſſwek" on his map, or "Raſauweak," as he elſewhere calls it, it is ſituated on the Powhatan River, above the falls, among the "Monacans," a nation hoſtile to Powhatan, and where Opechancanough certainly would not have taken Smith. Some other place muſt have been intended.

[5] "Menapucunt," between the "Youghtanand" and "Mattapanient" rivers, not far from their junction.

[6] Spelled "Katatough" on p. 58; the youngeſt brother of Powhatan, and one of the kings of Pamaunke.

[7] By "the great King," Smith probably means the Emperor Powhatan, who had many reſidences in his dominions, and removed to them

containing fourſcore or an hundred foote in length, pleaſantly ſeated vpon an high ſandy hill, from whence you may ſee weſterly a goodly low Country, the riuer before the which his crooked courſe cauſeth many great Marſhes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houſes, and many large plaines are here togither inhabited, more abundance of fiſh & fowle, and a pleaſanter ſeat cannot be imagined: the King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to diſcharge my Piſtoll, which they there preſented me with a mark at ſix ſcore to ſtrike therewith but to ſpoil the practice I broke the cocke, whereat they were much diſcontented though a chaunce ſuppoſed.

From hence this kind King conducted mee to a place called Topahanocke,[1] a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward: the cauſe of this was, that the yeare before, a ſhippe had beene in the Riuer of Pamaunke, who hauing been kindly entertained by Powhatan their Emperour, they returned thence, and diſcouered the Riuer of Topahanocke, where being receiued with like kindneſſe, yet he ſlue the King, and tooke of his people, and they ſuppoſed I were hee, but the people reported him a great man that was Captaine, and vſing mee kindly, the next day we departed.

whenever it ſuited his convenience or pleaſure.

[1] Situated, on Smith's map, on the north ſide of the "Tappahanock," now "Rappahannock River." The preſent town of "Tappahannock" lies on the ſouth ſide the river, fifty miles from its mouth in Cheſapeake Bay.

This River of Topahanock, seemeth in breadth not much leſſe then that we dwell vpon. At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called Cuttata women: upwards is Marraugh tacum, Tapohanock, Appamatuck, and Nantaugs tacum,[1] at Topmanahocks, the head iſſuing from many Mountains, the next night I lodged at a hunting town of Powhatams,[2] and the next day arriued at Waranacomoco[3] vpon the riuer of Pamauncke,

[1] There ſhould be a ſemicolon here; and the reader need not be told that there ſhould be a point after "Marraugh tacum" and after "Cuttata women." All theſe places (except "Appamatuck," the name of a well-known tribe on the ſouth of the Powhatan River), with a ſlight variation in the orthography, may be ſeen on Smith's map, lying on the river "Topahanock." The printer of the black letter has made ſad work of Smith's manuſcript in the following ſentence. It ſhould read, "at top, Manahocks, the head iſſuing from many Mountains." The "Mannahoacks" were a well-known tribe, independent of Powhatan.

[2] In the ſubſequently written account in the "Generall Hiſtorie," page 48, Smith is ſaid to have been brought to the "King's habitation at Pamavnkee" (that is, to the reſidence of "Opechancanough"), after his journey to the various places above deſcribed. He was here a gueſt alſo of "Opitchapan," the brother and ſucceſſor of Powhatan, who lived near. Before taken to "Werowocomoco," the next move, Smith was entertained with thoſe "ſtrange and fearfull coniurations," deſcribed on pp. 41, 42, as having taken place at the town to which he was firſt brought (Orapaks) when taken priſoner.

[3] This, the principal and favorite reſidence of Powhatan at this period, was ſituated on the north ſide of "Pamaunke," now York River, in Glouceſter County, only a few miles diſtant from the hiſtoric field of Yorktown, on the other ſide the river. Mr. Campbell, in his recent hiſtory of Virginia, locates the place at "Powhatan's Chimney," on the eaſt ſide of "Timber-neck Bay," where ſtands the old ſtone chimney, which Biſhop Meade, who made a pilgrimage to ſee it, thinks is the veritable one built for the old chief by the coloniſts. Powhatan ſubſequently removed to "Orapaks," a retired place "in the deſert," at the top of the river Chickahominy. — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 37; *Campbell*, pp. 18, 49, 62, 63, 67, 159, 130; Compare *Biſhop Meade's Old Churches, &c., of Virginia*, vol. i. pp. 336, 350.

where the great king is reſident: by the way we paſſed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two called Payankatank. The moſt of this Countrey though Deſert, yet exceeding fertil, good timber, moſt hils and in dales, in each valley a criſtall ſpring.

Arriuing at Weramocomoco their Emperour,[1] proudly lying vppon a Bedſtead a foote high vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke,[2] and couered with a

[1] This was the firſt time Smith had met with the Emperor Powhatan. It would ſeem that both Smith and Captain Newport, on their firſt voyage up the James River, ſuppoſed that the chief whoſe reſidence was at "Powhatan," near the falls, and who there entertained them, was the Emperor himſelf. The miſtake aroſe from the name of the place correſponding to the name which the Emperor then bore. He took his name from this ſeat, which was one of his inheritances. Smith ſays, "His proper name is *Wahunſonacock*. Some Countries he hath which haue beene his anceſtors, and came ynto him by inheritance, as the Country called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuck*, *Pamavnkee*, *Youghtanund*, and *Mattanient*. All the reſt of his Territories expreſſed in the Mappe, they report haue beene his ſeverall Conqueſts." — "And they were bounded," ſays Stith (page 54), "on the *South* by *James* River, with all its Branches, from the Mouth to the Falls, and ſo acroſs the Country, nearly as high as the Falls of all the Rivers, over *Patowmack* even to *Patuxen* in *Maryland*." — "In all his ancient inheritances," says Smith, "he hath houſes built after their manner like arbours, ſome 30, ſome 40. yards long, and at every houſe proviſion for his entertainment according to the time." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 37. The chief ſeen by Newport and Smith, at "Powhatan," may have been the one deſcribed by Strachey (page 56) as one of the ſons of the emperor, and named after him "Tanx Powhatan;" meaning Little Powhatan.

[2] This paſſage is awkwardly expreſſed. The writer means to ſay that the Emperor was lying on a bedſtead, on which were ten or twelve mats; that many chains of great pearls hung about his neck; and that he was covered with a great garment of raccoon ſkins. In the narrative in the "Generall Hiſtorie," pages 48, 49, it is ſtated thus: "Before a fire vpon a ſeat like a

great Couering of Rahaughcums:[1] At heade ſat a woman, at his feete another, on each ſide ſitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground were raunged his chiefe men on each ſide the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaine of white Beades ouer their ſhoulders: their heades painted in redde and with ſuch a graue and Majesticall countenance, as draue me into admiration to ſee ſuch ſtate in a naked Saluage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of ſundrie Victuals, aſſuring mee his friendſhip, and my libertie within foure dayes, hee much delighted in Opechan Conoughs relation of what I had deſcribed to him, and oft examined me vpon the ſame.[2] Hee aſked mee

bedſtead, he ſat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun ſkinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did ſit a young wench 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each ſide the houſe, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and ſhoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with ſomething; and a great chayne of white beads about their necks."

[1] Our author's ingenuity muſt have been ſeverely taxed in attempting to ſpell this word. I ſuppoſe he aims to give the manner of its pronunciation by the natives of Virginia. He elſewhere ſpells it "Aroughcun." In a "Trve Declaration" &c., of Virginia, London, 1610, p. 29, the word is ſpelled "Arocoun." Wood, in his "New England's Proſpect," ſpells the word "Rackoon;" and Joſſelyn gives it according to our preſent orthography. It will be ſeen on page 46 that another mode of ſpelling is attempted. Some authorities derive the word from the French *Raton*.

[2] The account in the "Generall Hiſtorie," (p. 49) following the paſſage quoted in note 2, of the page immediately preceding, continues thus: "At his entrance before the King, all the people gaue a great ſhout. The Queene of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to waſh his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, inſtead of a

the cauſe of our comming, I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouer powred, neare put to retreat,[1] and by extreme weather put to this ſhore, where landing at Cheſipiack, the people ſhot vs, but at Kequoughtan they kindly vſed us,[2] we by ſignes demaunded freſh water, they deſcribed vs vp the Riuer was all freſh water, at Paſpahegh, alſo they kindly vſed vs, our Pinnſſe being leake wee were inforced to ſtay to mend her, till Captain Newport my father came to conduct vs away. He demaunded why we went further with our Boate, I tolde him, in that I would haue occaſion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other ſide the maine, where was ſalt water, my father had a childe ſlaine, which wee ſuppoſed Monocan[3] his enemie,[4] whoſe death we intended to reuenge.

Towell to dry them: having feaſted him after their beſt barbarous manner they could, a long conſultation was held, but the concluſion was, two great ſtones were brought before *Powhatan:* then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas*, the Kings deareſt daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his, to ſaue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he ſhould liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aſwell of all occupations as themſelues." See page 38, note 3.

[1] The ſtory about "being in fight with the Spaniards," was, of courſe, a fabrication; and it will be ſeen, throughout this interview, that Smith avoided telling Powhatan that the Engliſh had come to ſettle in the country.

[2] See pages 3 and 5, notes. There ſhould be a period here, and after "freſh water," below.

[3] The "Monacans," repreſented on Smith's map as living at the head of the Powhatan River; ſuppoſed by ſome writers to be the anceſtors of the "Tuscaroras."

[4] [Had occaſioned?]

After good deliberation, hee began to deſcribe mee the Countreys beyond the Falles, with many of the reſt, confirming what not only Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had been priſoner to Pewhatan had before tolde mee, but ſome called it fiue dayes, ſome ſixe, some eight, where the ſayde water daſhed amongeſt many ſtones and rocks, each ſtorme[1] which cauſed oft tymes the heade of the Riuer to bee brackiſh: Anchanachuck[2] he deſcribed to bee the people that had ſlaine my brother, whoſe death hee would reuenge. Hee deſcribed alſo vpon the ſame Sea, a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack,[3] a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer, and Pataromerke,[4] Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories, where the yeare before they had ſlain an hundred, he ſignified their crownes were ſhauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them he deſcribed people with ſhort Coates, and Sleeues to the Elbowes, that paſſed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee deſcribed mee to the heade of the Bay, which ſeemed to bee a mightie Riuer, iſſuing from mightie Mountaines

[1] The comma after "rocks" ſhould be here.

[2] Probably the ſame as "Atquanachucke," a tribe whoſe ſeat is indicated by Smith on the north-eaſt corner of his map.

[3] "Bocootawwanauks," in Strachey, p. 27.

[4] "Moyaons" may be ſeen on Smith's map, on the left bank of the "Potawomeck" River, nearly north of "Potapaco," now called "Port Tobacco."

betwixt the two Seas, the people clothed at Ocamahowan. He alſoe confirmed,[1] and the Southerly Countries alſo, as the reſt, that reported vs to be within a day & a halfe of Mangoge, two dayes of Chawwonock,[2] 6. frõ Roonock,[3] to the South part of the backe ſea: he deſcribed a countrie called Anone,[4] where they haue abundance of Braſſe, and houſes walled as ours. I requited his diſcourſe, ſeeing what pride hee had in his great and ſpacious Dominions, ſeeing that all hee knewe were vnder his Territories.[5]

In deſcribing to him the territories of Europe, which was ſubject to our great King whoſe ſubject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ſhips, I gaue him to vnderſtand the noyſe of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting were vnder captain Newport my father, whom I intituled the Meworames[6] which they call King of all the waters, at his greatneſſe hee

[1] This clauſe probably belongs to the previous sentence. He means that the account before received, concerning the people clothed at "Ocamahowan," was alſo confirmed by Powhatan.

[2] The ſeats of the "Mangoags" and the "Chawons" are placed on the ſouth part of Smith's map. "Chawanok" river, now "Chowan River," empties into Albemarle Sound. — See Smith's map of "Ould Virginia;" alſo De Bry's map, on which theſe places are laid down.

[3] The ſeat of Ralegh's loſt colony.

[4] "To the southweſt Anoeg, . . . whoſe houſes are built as ours, ten daies diſtant from us." — *Strachey's Hiſtoric of Travaile*, p. 48.

[5] There ſhould be a comma here, and the paſſage is connected with what follows.

[6] A typographical error for "Werowance." The paſſage ſhould read thus: "I gave him to underſtand the . . . terrible manner of fighting . . . under Captain Newport, my father, whom I intitled Werowance (which they call King) of all the waters."

admired, and not a little feared: hee deſired mee to forſake Paſpaliegh,[1] and to liue with him vpon his Riuer, a Countrie called Capa Howaſicke:[2] hee promiſed to giue me Corne, Veniſon, or what I wanted to feede vs, Hatchets and Copper wee ſhould make him, and none ſhould diſturbe vs. This requeſt I promiſed to performe: and thus hauing with all the kindnes hee could deuiſe, ſought to content me: hee ſent me home with 4. men, one that vſually carried my Gowne and Knapſacke after me, two other loded with bread, and one to accompanie me.[3]

[1] A typographical error for "Paſpahegh." — *See page* 9, note 2.

[2] "Capahowoſick" is on Smith's map, a ſhort diſtance below "Werowocomoco," on the ſame ſide the river.

[3] The moſt indifferent reader cannot fail to notice the marked diſcrepancy between Smith's original account, in the text, of the manner in which he was received by Powhatan, when firſt brought to him a priſoner, and the account on pp. 34–5, from the "Generall Hiſtorie." In the former account, his reception by the Emperor, and the treatment he received from him during his ſtay at Werowocomoco, are marked by kindneſs and courteſy; and no mention whatever is made of the young child Pocahontas, whoſe name is introduced for the firſt time at a ſubſequent period in this narrative. In the latter account, he is no ſooner brought before Powhatan than preparations are made "to beate out his braines" with clubs, and his life is finally ſaved only by the intervention of Pocahontas. I have ventured in another place (in a note on Wingfield's "Diſcourſe of Virginia," in Archæol. Amer. vol. iv. pp. 92–95) to ſuggeſt that this ſtory is one of the embelliſhments with which Smith's later works were ſometimes adorned. The reader ſhould bear in mind that the account in the text was written by Smith himſelf on the ſpot. He, alone, of the coloniſts could tell the ſtory of his capture and impriſonment, and this is his report. That no ſtory inconſiſtent with this was told by him on his return to Jameſtown may be inferred from Wingfield, who was there, and who gives briefly the principal facts attending Smith's impriſonment; namely, that his life was imperilled only at the time of

This Riuer of Pamaunke is not paſt twelue mile from that we dwell on, his courſe northweſt, and weſ-

his falling into the hands of "Pamaonke's men;" and that, by means of his guide, his life was ſaved. Nothing is ſaid of Pocahontas; and Powhatan's name is mentioned only in connection with the fact, that, when Smith was brought before him a priſoner, he ſent him home to Jameſtown. The only other contemporary account of Smith's capture is the one originally written by the companions of Smith, and printed as an appendix to his book, entitled "Map of Virginia," &c., publiſhed at Oxford in 1612. The firſt part of this book is a "Deſcription of Virginia," or a geography of the country, originally written by Smith while in the colony, and ſent home, with the draught of his map, by Newport, before the cloſe of the year 1608.—(See Letter to the "Treaſurer and Councell" in "Generall Hiſtorie," pp. 70–72.) The appendix, — the hiſtorical portion of this book, — ſo far as it embraces the time of Smith's reſidence in the colony, is a continued eulogy of Smith; around whom the principal events narrated are grouped. It contains a brief account of his impriſonment, as told, of courſe, by himſelf to his companions, at Jameſtown; but the reader will not find the leaſt intimation of any thing on which to found this romantic ſtory. The "Generall Hiſtorie," from which the extract above is taken, was firſt printed, as I have before ſtated, in 1624. This work is chiefly a compilation, including extracts from Hakluyt, Brereton, Roſier, Hamor, "Mourt's Relation," Winſlow's "Good News," Whitbourne, and others, beſides the whole of Smith's previous publications, except this preſent work — "The True Relation," of 1608. For the period covering Smith's reſidence in Virginia, the narrative in the appendix to the "Map of Virginia," &c., written, as I have ſaid, by Smith's companions, is introduced into the "Generall Hiſtorie;" but many changes are made in the text as originally written, and new paſſages are inserted, ſome of which are of an extravagant character, and give to the narrative an air of romance. The paſſage relating to the Pocahontas ſtory, above cited, is one of theſe. I ſuppoſe Smith muſt be held reſponſible for all this: for, although he had probably fallen into the hands of Michael Sparks, the publiſher, ſtill the work is iſſued in his own name; and at the concluſion of chapter ii., which covers the period of his impriſonment, his initials ("I. S.") appear, indicating him as one of the writers.

Although the account of Smith's reſcue by Pocahontas is for the the firſt time circumſtantially told in the "Generall Hiſtorie," it would appear that he claimed, in 1616 or 1617, when Pocahontas, now the Lady Rebecca, was in England,

terly, as the other. Weraocomoco, is vpon ſalt water, in bredth two myles, and ſo keepeth his courſe without any tarrying ſome twenty miles,[1] where at the parting of the freſh water and the ſalt, it diuideth it ſelfe into two partes, the one part to Goughland,[2] as broad as

and in great favor at court as the daughter of an Emperor, to have had this ſervice rendered to him by her. If his own ſtory is true, he at that time addreſſed a letter, or "a little booke," to Queen Anne (who died in 1619), of which he gives "an abſtract" in the "Generall Hiſtorie," pp. 121–123. In this, he ſpeaks of having been taken priſoner by Powhatan when in Virginia, and of the "exceeding great courteſie" he received from him, from his ſon Nantaquaus, and from Pocahontas, then "a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age [he ſays in the text, under a little later date, that ſhe was "a child of tenne years old."— *See page* 72], whoſe compaſſionate pitifull heart, of my deſperate eſtate, gaue me much cauſe to reſpect her. . . . After ſome ſix weeks [he was abſent but *four* weeks] fatting amongſt thoſe Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, ſhe hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to ſaue mine," &c. A brief reference is made in his "New Englands Trials," of 1622, to his having been "delivered" by Pocahontas; after he had been taken priſoner "by the folly of them that fled" — a new verſion of the capture. It is ſafer, I think, to follow the ſimple, original narrative, written on the ſpot, with none of thoſe motives to embelliſh it which were ſubſequently furniſhed. Smith was a true knight errant, and was always ready to go down on his knees to the fair ſex, and to confeſs the obligations he owed to many famous ladies. In his dedication of the "Generall Hiſtorie" to the Ducheſs of Richmond, he ſays, "The beautious Lady *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a ſlaue to the *Turkes*, did all ſhe could to ſecure me. When I overcame the *Baſhaw* of *Nalbritis* in *Tartaria*, the charitable Lady *Callamata* ſupplied my neceſſities. In the vtmoſt of many extremities, that bleſſed *Pokahontas*, the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft ſaved my life. When I eſcaped the crueltie of Pirats and moſt furious ſtormes, a long time alone in a ſmall Boat at Sea, and driven aſhore in *France*, the good Lady, *Madam Chanoyes*, bountifully aſſiſted me."

[1] Smith probably means that the river keeps its courſe without any obſtruction for twenty miles; that is, tracing it upward from Powhatan's reſidence to the point where the two ſtreams which run into the main river meet. — *See page* 29, *note* 2.

[2] I find no ſuch name on Smith's map, or elſewhere.

Thames, and nauigable, with a Boate threeſcore or foureſcore miles, and with a Shippe fiftie, exceeding crooked, and manie low grounds and mariſhes, but inhabited with aboundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of Youghtomam,[1] of no leſſe worth, onely it is lower, but all the ſoyle, a fatte, fertill, ſandie ground. Aboue Manapacumter,[2] many high ſandie Mountaines. By the Riuer is many Rockes, ſeeming if not of ſeuerall Mines: The other branch[3] a little leſſe in breadth, yet extendeth not neare ſo farre, nor ſo well inhabited, ſomewhat lower, and a white ſandie, and a white clay ſoyle: here is their beſt Terra Sigillata: The mouth of the Riuer, as I ſee in the diſcouerie therof with captain Newport,[4] is halfe a mile broad, & within foure miles not aboue a Muſket Shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the Riuer straight to the deuiſions. Kiſkirk[5] the neareſt Nation to the entrances.

Their religion and Ceremonie I obſerued was thus: three or foure dayes after my taking ſeuen of them in the houſe where I lay, each with a rattle began at ten

[1] "Youghtanund." *See page* 29.

[2] Probably "Menapucunt."—*See page* 30, *note* 5.

[3] The "Mattapanient."—*See page* 30, *note* 1.

[4] Smith here refers to the "diſcouerie" of the "Pamaunke" River by himſelf and Newport, of which an account will be given farther on. He errs in eſtimating the width of this river. The gazetteers ſay it is from two to two and a half miles wide from its mouth to the confluence of the two main ſtreams, a diſtance of forty miles.

[5] Now "Cheſcake," pronounced "Cheeſecake," between Williamſburg and York." — *Stith*, p. 54; *Campbell*, p. 66.

a clocke in the morning to ſing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale, and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each ſong, layde downe two or three graines of wheat, continuing this order till they haue included ſixe or ſeuen hundred in a halfe Circle, and after that two or three more Circles in like maner, a hand bredth from other: that done, at each ſong, they put betwixt euerie three, two or fiue graines, a little ſticke, ſo counting as an old woman her Pater noſter.

One diſguiſed with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnes of Weaſels, and other vermine, with a Crownet of feathers on his head, painted as vgly as the diuell, at the end of each ſong will make many ſignes and demonſtrations, with ſtrange and vehement actions, great cakes of Deere ſuet, Deare, and Tobacco he caſteth in the fire, till ſixe a clocke in the Evening, their howling would continue ere they would depart. Each morning in the coldeſt froſt, the principall to the number of twentie or thirtie, aſſembled themſelues in a round circle, a good diſtance from the towne, where they told me they there conſulted where to hunt the next day: ſo fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue ſacrificed mee to the Quiyoughquoſicke, which is a ſuperiour power they worſhip, a more vglier thing cannot be deſcribed: one they haue for chief ſacrifices, which alſo they call Quiyoughquoſick: to cure the ſick, a man with a

Rattle, and extreame howling, ſhowting, ſinging, and ſuch violent geſtures, and Anticke actions ouer the patient will ſucke out blood and flegme from the patient out of their vnable ſtomacke, or any diſeaſed place, as no labour will more trie them,[1] Tobacco they offer the water in paſſing in fowle weather.[2] The death of any they lament with great ſorrow and weeping: their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within their houſes, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets, and copper: the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no reſurrection. Powhatan hath three brethren, and two ſiſters, each of his bretheren ſucceeded other.[3]

For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the firſt heyres of the Siſters, and ſo ſucceſſiuely the weomens heires: For the Kings haue as many weomen as they will, his Subjects two, and moſt but one.

From Weramocomoco is but 12. miles, yet the Indians trifled away that day, and would not goe to our Forte by any perſwaſions: but in certaine olde hunting houſes of Paſpahegh we lodged all night. The next morning ere Sunne riſe, we ſet forward for our Fort,

[1] Theſe "conjurations," deſcribed in the "Generall Hiſtorie" (page 48) in ſomewhat different language, are there ſaid to have taken place at "Pamavnkee," juſt before Smith was led to "Werowocomoco." I do not heſitate to expreſs my preference for the order of the narrative in the text, which ſtates that it was "three or foure dayes after my taking."—*See page* 32, *note* 2.

[2] Our author means, that, in paſſing over the water in ſoul weather, they offer tobacco to their god, to conciliate his favor. See alſo the "Generall Hiſtorie," p. 36.

[3] See p. 25, note 3, and p. 30, note 6.

where we arriued within an houre,[1] where each man with trueſt ſignes of ioy they could expreſſe welcommed mee, except M. Archer, and ſome 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my abſence, ſworne Counſellour, though not with the conſent of Captaine Martin:[2] great blame and imputation was laide vpon mee by them, for the loſſe of our two men which the Indians ſlew: inſomuch that they purpoſed to depoſe me,[3] but in the

[1] Wingfield ſays that Powhatan ſent Smith "home to our towne the viiith of January," 1607–8. We have ſeen by the ſame authority, cited on page 22, that he ſtarted, on this expedition, the 10th of December; ſo that he was abſent juſt four weeks. The account in the appendix to the "Map of Virginia," page 14, ſays, "A month thoſe Barbarians kept him priſoner." In the enlarged and exaggerated account in the "Generall Hiſtorie" (page 46), it is ſaid, "Sixe or ſeuen weekes" they kept him priſoner.

[2] "During M Smythe's abſence, the Preſident did ſwear Mr Archer one of the Councell, contrary to his oath taken in the artycles agreed vpon betweene themſelues . . . and contrary to the King's inſtruccons, and wthout Mr Martyn's conſent; whereas there weare no more but the Preſident and Mr Martyn then of the Councell." — *Wingfield, in Archæol. Amer.* vol. iv. p. 93. The charter of Virginia provided for a colonial council of thirteen; and His Majeſty's inſtructions and orders authorized the major part of ſaid Council, upon any juſt cauſe, to remove the Preſident or any other of the Council. — *Stith*, p. 37; and *Appendix*, p. 3. There appears to have been a departure from this rule from the firſt, not only in the appointment of but *ſeven* councillors, but in the mode in which they adminiſtered the government.

[3] Smith was one of the council. "Mr Archer being ſettled in his authority, fought how to call Mr Smythe's lief in queſtion, and had indited him vpon a chapter in Leuiticus for the death of his twoe men. He had had his tryal the ſame daie of his retorne, and, I believe, his hanging the ſame or the next daie, ſo ſpeedie is our lawe there. But it pleaſed God to ſend Captn. Newport vnto vs the ſame evening, to o^{r} vnſpeakable comfort; whoſe arrivall ſaued Mr Smyth's lief and mine, becauſe hee took me out the pynnasse, and gaue me leave to lye in the towne."— *Wingfield, in Archæol. Amer.* vol. iv. pp. 94, 95. In the "Generall Hiſtorie," p. 49, it is ſaid,

midſt of my miſeries, it pleaſed God to ſend Captaine Nuport, who arriuing there the ſame night, ſo tripled our ioy, as for a while theſe plots againſt me were deferred, though with much malice againſt me, which captain Newport in ſhort time did plainly ſee. Now was maiſter Scriuener, captaine Martin, and my ſelfe, called Counſellers.[1]

Within fiue or ſixe dayes after the arriuall of the Ship, by a miſchaunce our Fort was burned,[2] and the

"Some no better than they ſhould be, had plotted with the Preſident, the next day to haue put him [Smith] to death by the Leviticall law, for the liues of *Robinſon* and *Emry*, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke ſuch order with ſuch Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he ſent ſome of them priſoners for *England*." This paſſage is not in the Oxford tract.

Of the original councillors, Wingfield had been depoſed, not only from the preſidency, but as councillor; Goſnold had died; Kendall had been executed; and, ſetting aſide Captain Newport, concerning whom it is doubtful how far he may be conſidered as having retained his office, there now remained of the council, at the time of Smith's return, but Captain John Ratcliffe, who ſucceeded Wingfield as preſident; Captain John Martin; Captain Smith, whom they threatened to depoſe; and Captain Gabriell Archer, elected during Smith's abſence. Captain Newport appears to have exerciſed conſiderable influence and authority over the coloniſts, either by virtue of office or poſition, or by the force of his character.

[1] Matthew Scrivener had juſt arrived with Newport; Martin had been one of the council from the beginning; Smith now took his place in that body; Archer was now, or ſoon after, depoſed; Ratcliffe was ſtill their preſident.

[2] Wingfield ſays this fire took place the 7th of January. Both he and our author agree that Newport arrived the evening of the day of the latter's return from his captivity, which Wingfield ſays was on the 8th of January. If this date is right, and the fire took place "fiue or ſixe dayes after the arriual of the Ship," it muſt have been on the 13th or 14th of January, 1607-8. In the account in the "Generall Hiſtorie," this fire is ſaid to have broken out on the return of the party from the viſit to Powhatan, now about to be related, which, according to Wing-

moſt of our apparell, lodging and priuate prouiſion, many of our old men diſeaſed, and of our new for want of lodging periſhed. The Empereur Powhatan each weeke once or twice ſent me many preſents of Deare, bread Raugroughcuns,[1] halfe alwayes for my father,[2] whom he much deſired to ſee, and halfe for me: and ſo continually importuned by meſſengers and preſents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had giuen me, as at laſt Captaine Newport reſolued to go ſee him. Such acquaintance I had amongſt the Indians, and ſuch confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them, euery of them calling me by my name, would not ſell any thing till I had firſt receiued their preſents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my diſcretion: but after acquaintance, they vſually came into the Fort at their pleaſure: The Preſident, and the reſt of the Councell, they knewe not, but Captaine Newports greatneſſe I had ſo deſcribed, as they conceyued him the chiefe, the reſt his children, Officers, and ſeruants. We had agreed with ye king of Paſpahegh to conduct two of our men to

field, was not until the 9th of March. But the account alſo ſtates that it "happned in the winter, in that extreme froſt, 1607" (that is, 1607-8). "The fire was ſo fierce as it burnt their Pallifado's (though eight or ten yards diſtant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much priuate prouiſion. Good Maſter *Hunt*, our Preacher, loſt all his Library and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none neuer heard him repine at his loſſe."—*Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 52.

[1] See page 34, note 1.

[2] Captain Newport.—*See page* 35.

a place called Panawicke[1] beyond Roonok, where he reported many men to be apparelled.[2] Wee landed him at Warraskoyack,[3] where playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after without going further. Captaine Newport, maiſter Scriuener, and my ſelfe,[4] found the mouth of Pamauncks riuer,[5] ſome 25. or 30. miles northward from Cape Henricke, the chanell good as before expreſſed.

Arriuing at Weramocomoca, being iealous of the intent of this politick ſaluage, to diſcouer his intent the better, I with 20. ſhot armed in Jacks[6] went a ſhore, the Bay where he dwelleth hath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanel all oft,[7] being conducted to the towne, I found my ſelfe miſtaken in the creeke,[8] for they al there were within leſſe then a mile, the Emperors ſonne called Naukaquawis,[9] the captaine that tooke me,[10] and diuerſe others of his chiefe men conducted me to their kings habitation, but in the mid way I was inter-

[1] Perhaps "Pananaioc." See Smith's map of "Ould Virginia."

[2] See page 28, note 2.

[3] See page 17, note 1.

[4] "With thirtie or fortie choſen men for their guard." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 51.

[5] Now "York River," about fifteen miles north from "Point Comfort."

[6] "A coat of mail; a defenſive upper garment quilted with ſtout leather. The term was more latterly applied to a kind of buff jerkin worn by foldiers." — *Halliwell.*

[7] Oſe? — *See page* 55.

[8] "For it appears that he had miſtaken the right landing-place, having probably paſſed up a little beyond the mouth of Timberneck Bay." — *Campbell*, p. 50.

[9] Spelled in the "Generall Hiſtorie," "Nantaquoud" and "Nantaquaus."

[10] Opechancanough.

cepted by a great creek ouer which they had made a bridge of grained ſtakes & railes, the king of Kiskieck, and Namontack, who all the iourney the king had ſent to guide vs, had conducted vs this paſſage, which cauſed me to ſuſpect ſome miſchiefe: the barge I had ſent to meet me at the right landing, when I found my ſelfe firſt deceyued, and knowing by experience the moſt of their courages to proceede from others feare, though fewe lyked the paſſage, I intermingled the Kings ſonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongſt ours, and led forward, leauing halfe at the one ende to make a guard for the paſſage of the Front.[1] The Indians ſeeing the weakeneſſe of the Bridge, came with a Canow, and tooke me in of the middeſt with foure or fiue more, being landed wee made a guard for the reſt till all were paſſed, two in a ranke we marched to the Emperors houſe. Before his houſe ſtood fortie or fiftie great Platters of fine bread, being entred the houſe, with leude tunes they all made ſignes

[1] The account of this expedition, briefly told, is given in the "Generall Hiſtorie." After naming eleven of the "twentie men well appointed" for a guard, the account proceeds (page 51): "Theſe, with nine others (whoſe names I haue forgotten) coming a-ſhore, landed amongſt a many of creekes, over which they were to paſſe ſuch poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches, thruſt in the oſe, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tyed together onely with barkes of trees, that it made them much ſuſpect thoſe bridges were but traps. Which cauſed *Smith* to make diverſe Salvages goe over firſt, keeping ſome of the chiefe as hoſtage till halfe his men were paſſed, to make a guard for himſelfe and the reſt. But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne."

of great ioy. This proude ſaluage, hauing his fineſt women, and the principall of his chiefe men aſſembled, ſate in rankes as before is expreſſed, himſelfe as vppon a Throne at the vpper ende of the houſe, with ſuch a Maieſtie as I cannot expreſſe, nor yet haue often ſeene, either in Pagan or Chriſtian, with a kinde countenance hee bad mee welcome, and cauſed a place to bee made by himſelfe to ſit, I preſented him a ſute of red cloth, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte, as Jewels he eſteemed them, and with a great Oration made by three of his Nobles, if there be any amongſt ſaluages, kindly accepted them, with a publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendſhip.

After that, he commaunded the Queene of Apamatuc, a comely yong Saluage, to give me water,[1] a Turkie-cocke and breade to eate: being thus feaſted, hee began his diſcourſe to this purpoſe. Your kinde viſitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much deſire to ſee, is he not with you. I told him he remained aboord, but the next day he would come vnto him, with a merrie coũtenance he aſked me for certaine peeces I which[2] promiſed him, when I went to Paſpahegh, I told according to my promiſe, that I proffered the man that went with me foure Demy Culuerings, in that he ſo deſired a great

[1] In the account of Smith's firſt interview with Powhatan, in the "Generall Hiſtorie," it is ſtated that this queen was commanded to wait on him. — *See page* 34, *note* 2.

[2] *Sic.* "Which I," &c.

Gunne, but they refuſed to take them, whereat with a lowde laughter, he deſired to giue him ſome of a leſſe burthen, as for the other I gaue him them, being ſure that none could carrie them:[1] but where are theſe men you promiſed to come with you, I told him without, who ther vpon gaue order to haue them brought in, two after two, euer maintaining the guard without. And as they preſented themſelues euer with thankes, he would ſalute me, and cauſed each of them to haue foure or fiue pound of bread giuen them. This done, I aſked him for the corne and ground he promiſed me. He told me I ſhould haue it, but he expected to haue all theſe men lay their armes at his feet, as did his ſubiects. I tolde him that was a ceremonie our enemies deſired, but neuer our Friends, as we preſented our ſelues vnto him, yet that he ſhould not doubt of our friendſhip: the next day my Father would giue him a child of his, in full aſſurance of our loues, and not only that, but when he ſhould thinke it conuenient,

[1] We are told in the "Generall Hiſtorie" (page 49), that, while Smith was a captive with Powhatan, the Emperor came to him, and told him that "preſently he ſhould goe to *Iames* towne, to ſend him two great gunnes, and a gryndſtone, for which he would giue him the Country of *Capahowoſick*, and for ever eſteeme him as his ſonne, *Nantaquoud*. So to *Iames* towne with 12 guides *Powhatan* ſent him." The next morning the ſavages came to the fort, where Smith ſhowed one of them "two demi-Culverings & a millſtone to carry *Powhatan*: they found them ſomewhat too heavie; but when they did ſee him diſcharge them, being loaded with ſtones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Iſickles, the yce and branches came ſo tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare."

wee would deliuer vnder his ſubiection the Country of Manacam[1] and Pocoughtaonack[2] his enemies.

This ſo contented him, as immediatly with attentiue ſilence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me A werowanes of Powhatan, and that all his ſubiects ſhould ſo eſteeme vs, and no man account vs ſtrangers nor Paſpaheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, ſhould be to vs as to his owne people: this proffered kindnes for many reaſons we contemned not, but with the beſt Languages and ſignes of thankes I could expreſſe, I tooke my leaue.

The King riſing from his ſeat, conducted me foorth, and cauſed each of my men to haue as much more bread as hee could beare: giuing me ſome in a baſket, & as much he ſent a board for a preſent to my Father: victuals you muſt know is all there wealth, and the greatest kindnes they could ſhew vs: arriuing at the Riuer, the Barge was fallen ſo low with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft ſent to preuent the same, yet the meſſengers deceiued mee, the Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King vnderſtanding this miſchance, ſent the Sonne and Mamontacke,[3] to conduct mee to a great houſe ſufficient to lodge mee, where entring I ſaw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vſed all diligence to make vs fires, & giue vs content: the kings Orators preſently enter-

[1] Or "Monacan." [2] See Strachey, p. 27. [3] "Namontack."

tained vs with a kinde oration, with expreſſe charge that not any ſhould ſteale, or take out bowes or arrowes, or offer any iniury.

Preſently after he ſent me a quarter of Venizon to ſtay my ſtomacke: in the euening hee ſent for mee to come onely with two ſhot with me: the company I gaue order to ſtand vpon their guard, & to maintaine two ſentries at the ports all night. To my ſupper he ſet before me meate for twenty men, & ſeeing I could not eate, he cauſed it to be giuen to my men: for this is a generall cuſtome, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you muſt either eate it, giue it away, or carry it with you: two or three houres we ſpent in our aunent[1] diſcourſes, which done, I was with a fire ſtick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting mee to the Riuer, ſhewed me his Canowes, and deſcribed vnto me how hee ſent them ouer the Baye for tribute Beades: and alſo what Countries paide him Beads, Copper or Skins. But ſeeing Captaine Nuport, and Maiſter Scriuener, comming a ſhore, the King returned to his houſe, and I went to meete him, with a trumpet before him,[2] wee marched to the King: who after his old manner kindly receiued him, eſpecially a Boy of thirteen yeares old, called Thomas Saluage, whom he[3] gaue him as his

[1] Avenent or avenant — agreeable.

[2] "With a trumpet before him [i.e. Newport] we marched," &c.

[3] That is, Newport. "For whom *Powhatan* gave him *Namontack* his truſtie ſeruant," who was taken to England by Newport. For many

Sonne: he requited this kindnes with each of vs a great baſket of Beanes, and entertaining him with the former diſcourſe, we paſſed away that day, and agreed to bargaine the next day, and ſo returned to our Pinnis: the next day comming a ſhore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfaſt, queſtioned with vs in this manner.

Why we came armed in that ſort, ſeeing hee was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes, what did wee doubt? I told him it was the cuſtome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies, wherewith though hee ſeemed ſatiſfied, yet Captaine Nuport cauſed all our men to retire to the water ſide, which was ſome thirtie ſcore from thence: but to preuent the worſt, Maiſter Scriuener or I were either the one or other by the Barge, experience had well taught me to beleeue his friendſhip, till conuenient opportunity ſuffced him to betray vs, but quickly this polititian had perceiued my abſence, and cunningly ſent for mee; I ſent for Maiſter Scriuener to ſupply my place, the King would demaund for him, I would againe releeue him, and they ſought to ſatiſfie our ſuſpition with kind Language, and not being agreed to trade for corne, hee deſired to ſee all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would giue vs corne, with that auncient tricke the Chickahamaniens had oft ac-

years ſubſequently Savage rendered important ſervice to the colony as an interpreter. — See "Generall Hiſtorie," pp. 52, 142.

quainted me: his offer I refuſed, offering firſt to ſee what hee would giue for one piece, hee ſeeming to deſpiſe the nature of a Merchant, did ſcorne to ſell, but we freely ſhould giue him, and he liberally would requite vs.

Captaine Nuport would not with leſſe then twelue great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at Chickahamania, I had for one of leſſe proportion: our Hatchets hee would alſo haue at his owne rate, for which kindnes hee much ſeemed to affect Captaine Nuport, ſome few bunches of blew Beades I had, which he much deſired, and ſeeing ſo few, he offred me a baſket of two pecks, and that which I drew to be three pecks at the leaſt, and yet ſeemed contented and deſired more: I agreed with him the next day for two buſhells, for ye ebbe now conſtrained vs to returne to our Boate, although he earneſtly deſired vs to ſtay dinner which was a prouiding, and being ready he ſent aboard after vs, which was bread and venizon, ſufficient for fiftie or ſixtie perſons.

The next day hee ſent his Sonne in the morning not to bring aſhore with vs any pieces, leaſt his weomen and children ſhould feare. Captaine Nuports good beliefe would haue ſatiſfied that requeſt, yet twentie or twentie fiue ſhot we got a ſhore: the King importuning mee to leaue my armes a board, much miſliking my ſword, piſtol and target, I told him the

men that ſlew my Brother[1] with the like tearmes had perſwaded me, and being vnarmed ſhot at vs, and ſo betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine Nuport that his men might leaue their armes, which ſtill hee commanded to the water ſide, this day we ſpent in trading for blew Beads, and hauing neare ffraighted our Barge.[2]

Captaine Nuport returned with them that came abord, leauing me and Maiſter Scriuener a ſhore, to follow in Canowes; into one I got with ſixe of our men, which beeing lanched a ſtones caſt from the ſhore ſtuck faſt in the Oſe: Maiſter Scriuener ſeeing this example, with ſeuen or eight more paſſed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other creeke, but they were inforced to ſtay with ſuch entertainment as a ſaluage,[3] being forced a ſhore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his houſe and houſhold, inſtantly ſet vp a houſe of mats which ſuccoured them from the ſtorme.

The Indians ſeeing me peſtred in the Oſe, called to me, ſix or ſeuen of the Kings chiefe men threw off their ſkins, and to the middle in Oſe, came to bear me out on their heads, their importunacie cauſed me better to like the Canow then their curteſie, excuſing my deniall for feare to fall into the Oſe, deſiring them to bring me ſome wood, fire, and mats to couer me, and I would content them: each preſently gaue his helpe

[1] See p. 35. [2] There ſhould be no period here. [3] [Could offer?]

to ſatiſfie my requeſt, which paines a horſe would ſcarce haue indured, yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperors[1] ſent his Seaman Mantiuas in the euening with bread and victuall for me and my men, he no more ſcripulous then the reſt ſeemed to take a pride in ſhewing how litle he regarded that miſerable cold and durty paſſage, though a dogge would ſcarce haue indured it, this kindnes I found, when I litle expected leſſe then a miſchiefe, but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood ſerued to carry vs aboard: the next day we came aſhore, the King with a ſolemne diſcourſe cauſing all to depart, but his principall men, and this was the effect,[2] when as hee perceiued that we had a deſire to inuade Monacum, againſt whom he was no profeſſed enemy, yet thus farre hee would aſſiſt vs in this enterpriſe: Firſt hee would ſend his ſpies, perfectly to vnderſtand their ſtrength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himſelfe.

Captain Nuport would not be ſeene in it himſelfe, being great Werowances, they would ſtay at home, but I, Maiſter Scriuener, and two of his Sonnes and Opechankanough.[3] The King of Pamaunke ſhould haue 100. of his men to goe before as though they

[1] *Sic.*

[2] His diſcourſe was to this effect.

[3] "There ſhould be no period here. It ſhould read, "Opechankanough, the King of Pamaunke," &c.

were hunting, they giuing vs notiſe where was the aduantage we ſhould kill them, the weomen and young children he wiſhed we ſhould ſpare, & bring them to him, only 100. or 150. of our men he held ſufficient for this exploit: our boats ſhould ſtay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might convey each man a piece till we were paſt the ſtones, and there ioyne them, to paſs our men by water, if any were ſhot, his men ſhould bring them backe to our boats, this faire tale had almoſt made Captain Nuport vndertake, by this meanes to diſcouer the South sea, which will not be without trecherie, if wee ground our intent vpon his conſtancie.

This day we ſpent in trading, dancing, and much mirth, the King of Pamaunke ſent his meſſenger, as yet not knowing Captaine Nuport, to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, deſiring also my Father to viſite him: the meſſenger ſtayed to conduct vs, but Powhatan vnderſtanding that we had Hatchets lately come from Paſpahegh, deſired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further.

This new tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what he liſted, and to try whether we would go or ſtay. Opechankenoughs meſſenger returned that wee would not come: the next day his Daughter came to entreat me, ſhewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much ſorrowed he could not ſee me.

Captaine Nuport being not to bee perſwaded to goe in,[1] that Powhatan had deſired us to ſtay: ſent her away with the like anſwer, yet the next day vpon better conſideration intreatie preuailed, and wee anchored at Cinquoateck, the firſt twaine aboue the parting of the riuer,[2] where dwelled two Kings of Pamaunke, Brothers to Powhatan: the one called Opitchapam, the other Katatough,[3] to theſe I went a ſhore, who kindly intreated mee and Maiſter Scriuener, ſending ſome preſents aboard to Captaine Nuport, whilſt we were trucking with theſe Kings.[4]

Opechankanough his wife, weomen, and children came to meete me with a naturall kind affection, hee ſeemed to reioyce to ſee me.

Captaine Nuport came a ſhore, with many kind diſcourſes wee paſſed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine Nuport went about with the Pinnis to Menapacant which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land:[5] Opechankanough, conducted me and Maiſter Scriuener by land, where hauing built a feaſting houſe a purpoſe to entertaine vs with a kind Oration, after

[1] "To goe, in that," &c.

[2] "Cinquoateck, the firſt twaine" [towne] above the junction of the two ſtreams which empty into and form the "Pamaunke," (now York) River, may be ſeen on Smith's map, juſt below "Menapucunt," where lived "Opechancanough."

[3] Or "Catatough." — *Generall Hiſt.* p. 38.

[4] There ſhould be no period here, but one after "Nuport" and "Katatough," in the firſt and third lines above.

[5] "Cinquoateck" or "Cinquoteck" may have been on the "Mattapanient" (Mattapony) River, and "Menapucunt" being on the "Youghtanund" (now Pamunkey) River, — very crooked at this place, — the route by water would be circuitous. — *See Smith's map.*

their manner and his beſt prouiſion, kindly welcomed vs, that day he would not trucke, but did his beſt to delight vs with content: Captaine Nuport arriued towards euening, whom the King preſented with ſixe great platters of fine bread, and Panſarowmana,[1] the next day till noone wee traded; the King feaſted all the company, and the afternoone was ſpent in playing, dauncing, and delight, by no meanes hee would haue vs depart till the next day, he had feaſted vs with venizon, for which he had ſent, hauing ſpent his firſt and ſecond prouiſion in expecting our comming: the next day he performed his promiſe, giuing more to vs three, then would haue ſufficed 30. and in that we carried not away what we left, hee ſent it after vs to the Pinnis, with what words or ſignes of loue he could expreſſe, we departed.

Captain Nuport in the Pinnis, leauing mee in the Barge to digge a rocke, where wee ſuppoſed a Mine at Cinquaoteck, which done, ere midnight I arriued at Weracomoco, where our Pinnis anchored, being 20. miles from Cinquaotecke,[2] the next day we tooke leaue

[1] "They alſo referue that corne late planted, that will not ripe, by roaſting it in hot aſhes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they eſteeme it being boyled with beanes for a rare diſh; they call it *Pauſarowmena*." — *Smith, in Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 28. The laſt three ſyllables ſuggeſt the word "hominy," and contain the radical from which it is derived.

[2] Smith has already told us that it was twenty miles (and I think I have ſeen it eſtimated twenty-five miles) from the confluence of the two rivers to "Werowocomoco." It muſt have been ſome diſtance farther from "Cinquoteck" to the latter place.

of Powhatan, who in regard of his kindnes gaue him an Indian,[1] he well affected to goe with him for England in ſteed of his Sonne, ye cauſe I aſſure me was to know our ſtrength and Countries condition: ye next day we arriued at Kiskiack,[2] the people ſo ſcornefully entertained vs, as with what ſignes of ſcorne and diſcontent we could, we departed and returned to our Fort with 250. buſhells of Corne, our preſident[3] being not wholy recouered of his ſicknes, in diſcharging, his Piece brake and ſplit his hand off, which he is not yet well recouered.

At Captaine Nuports arriuall, wee were victualled for twelue weekes, and hauing furniſhed him of what hee thought good, hee ſet ſaile for England the tenth of Aprill:[4] Maiſter Scriuener and my ſelfe with our ſhallop, accompanied him to Captaine Hendrick.[5]

Powhatan hauing for a farrewell, ſent him fiue or

[1] See page 52, note 4.

[2] See page 41, note 5.

[3] Captain John Ratcliffe.

[4] "Captayne Newport, haueing now diſpatched all his buſines and ſet the clocke in a true courſe (if ſo the Councell will keep it) prepared himſelf for England vpon the xth of Aprill, and arryued at Blackwall on Sunday, the xxj^th^ of Maye, 1608."—*Wingfield*, as above, pp. 97, 98. It is ſtated in the "Generall Hiſtorie" that Newport's veſſel remained in the country, this time, fourteen weeks. If he arrived the 8th of January, his ſtay was only about thirteen weeks. The "Generall Hiſtorie" gives the moſt of "their names that were landed in this ſupply," numbering in all a hundred and twenty perſons. This liſt probably includes thoſe alſo who came in the "Phœnix," Captain Francis Nelſon, who would have arrived in company with Captain Newport, but had parted with him in a ſtorm, and was given up for loſt. Wingfield and Archer went home at this time with Captain Newport.

[5] Smith undoubtedly wrote "*Cape* Hendrick" (Henry).

ſixe mens loadings, with Turkeyes for ſwords, which hee ſent him[1] in our return to ye fort: we diſcouered the riuer of Nauſamd,[2] a proud warlike Nation, as well we may teſtified,[3] at our firſt arriuall at Cheſiapiack:[4] but that iniury Captaine Nuport well reuenged at his returne, where ſome of them intiſing him to their Ambuſcadoes by a daunce, hee perceiuing their intent, with a vally of muſket ſhot, ſlew one, and ſhot one or two more, as themſelues confeſſe, the King at our ariuall ſent for me to come vnto him: I ſent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would as had the reſt of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented, at laſt he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor ſome fortie yards from y^e^ ſhore, he ſignified to me to come a ſhore, and ſent a Canow with foure or fiue of his men, two whereof I deſired to come aboard & to ſtay, & I would ſend two to talke with their King a ſhore, to this hee agreed: the King wee preſented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted, and ſent for victualls to entertaine the meſſengers.

Maiſter Scriuener and my ſelfe alſo, after that, went

[1] In exchange "for ſwords, which he ſent him." This paſſage, I think, belongs to the preceding paragraph. "In our return to the fort we diſcovered," &c.

[2] "Nansemond," a well-known river emptying into the James River, at the weſt of Elizabeth River.

[3] Perhaps Smith wrote *teſtifie*.

[4] See page 3. I have thought it more probable, that the Indians who aſſaulted the coloniſts at Cape Henry were of the Cheſapeake, rather than of the Nansemond, tribe.

a ſhore: the King kindly feaſted vs, requeſting vs to ſtay to trade till the next day, which hauing done, we returned to the Fort, this riuer is a muſket ſhot broad, each ſide being ſhould bayes, a narrow channell, but three fadom, his courſe for eighteene miles, almoſt directly South, and by Weſt, where beginneth the firſt inhabitants, for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the Weſt, a great bay and a white chaukie Iland, conuenient for a Fort: his next courſe South, where within a quarter of a mile, the riuer diuideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the weſter bought a high plaine likewiſe, the Northeaſt anſwerable in all reſpects: in theſe plaines are planted aboundance of houſes and people, they may containe 1000. Acres of moſt excellent fertill ground, ſo ſweeete, ſo pleaſant, ſo beautifull, and ſo ſtrong a proſpect, for an inuincible ſtrong Citty, with ſo many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene: This is within one daies iourney of Chawwonocke,[1] the riuer falleth into the Kings riuer, within twelue miles of Cape-hendicke.

At our Fort, the tooles we had were ſo ordinarily ſtolen by the Indians, as neceſſity inforced vs to correct their brauing theeuerie: for he that ſtole to day, durſt come againe the next day. One amongſt the reſt, hauing ſtolen two ſwords, I got the Counſels conſent to ſet in the bilboes: the next day with three more, he came with their woodden ſwords in the midſt of our

[1] An Indian town on the "Chowan River." — See page 37, note 2.

men to ſteale, their cuſtome is to take any thing they can ceaze off, onely the people of Pamaunke, wee haue not found ſtealing: but what others can ſteale, their King receiueth.

I bad them depart, but flouriſhing their ſwords, they ſeemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands, his pride vrged me to turne him[1] from amongſt vs, whereat he offred to ſtrike me with his ſword, which I preuented, striking him firſt: the reſt offring to reuenge the blow, receiued ſuch an incounter, and fled; the better to affright them, I purſued them with fiue or ſix ſhot, and ſo chaſed them out of the Iland: the beginning of this broyle, litle expecting by his carriage, we durſt haue reſiſted, hauing euen till that preſent, not beene contradicted, eſpecially them of Paſpahegh: theſe Indians within one houre, hauing by other Saluages, then in the Fort, vnderſtood that I threatned to be reuenged, came preſently of themſelues, and fell to working vpon our wears, which were then in hand by other Saluages, who ſeeing their pride ſo incountred, were ſo ſo ſubmiſſiue, and willing to doe any thing as might be, and with trembling feare, deſired to be friends within three daies after: From Nawſamond[2] which is 30. miles from vs, the King ſent vs a Hatchet, which they had ſtollen from vs at our being there: the meſſenger as is the cuſtome, alſo wee well rewarded and contented.

[1] Probably the one who had been "ſet in the bilboes."

[2] "Nanſemond." — *See page* 61, *note* 2.

The twenty of Aprill, being at worke, in hewing down Trees, and ſetting Corne,[1] an alarum cauſed vs with all ſpeede to take our armes, each expecting a new aſſault of the Saluages: but vnderſtanding it a Boate vnder ſaile, our doubts were preſently ſatiſfied, with the happy ſight of Maiſter Nelſon, his many perrills of extreame ſtormes and tempeſts. His ſhip well, as his company could teſtifie his care in ſparing our prouiſion, was well: but the prouidence thereof, as alſo of our ſtones, Hatchets, and other tooles, onely ours excepted, which of all the reſt was moſt neceſſary, which might inforce vs, to think[2] either a ſeditious traitor to our action, or a moſt vnconſcionable deceiuer of our treaſures. This happy arriuall of Maiſter Nelſon in the Phenix, hauing beene then about three monethes miſſing, after Captaine Nuports arriuall, being to all our expectations loſt: albeit, that now at the laſt, hauing beene long croſſed with tempeſtuous weather, and contrary winds, his ſo vnexpected comming, did ſo rauiſh vs with exceeding ioy, that now we thought our ſelues as well fitted, as our

[1] "The ſpring approaching, and the Ship departing, Mr *Scrivener* and Captain *Smith* devided betwixt them the rebuilding *Iames* towne; the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing our fields; planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our Store houſe. All men thus buſie at their ſeverall labours, Maſter *Nelſon* arrived with his loſt *Phœnix;* loſt (I ſay) for that we all deemed him loſt." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 53.

[2] Poſſibly ſome perſon's name is here omitted. The whole ſentence is obſcure, and I make no ſuggeſtion reſpecting its punctuation; the errors in which, in ſome places, are obvious.

harts could wiſh, both with a competent number of men, as alſo for all other needfull prouiſions, till a further ſupply ſhould come vnto vs: whereupon the firſt thing that was concluded, was, that my ſelfe, and Maiſter Scriuener ſhould with 70. men goe with the beſt meanes we could prouide, to diſcouer beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements conueniently we might: ſixe or ſeuen daies we ſpent only in trayning, our men to march, fight, and ſcirmiſh in the woods, their willing minds to this action, ſo quickned their vnderſtanding in this exerciſe, as in all iudgements wee were better able to fight with Powhatans whole force: in our order of battle amongſt the Trees, (for Thicks[1] there is few) then[2] the Fort was to repulſe 400. at the firſt aſſault, with ſome tenne or twenty ſhot, not knowing what to doe, nor how to vſe a Piece: our warrant being ſealed, Maiſter Nelſon refuſed to aſſiſte vs with the voluntary Marriners, and himſelfe as he promiſed, vnleſſe we would ſtand bound to pay the hire for ſhippe, and Marriners, for the time they ſtayed: and further there was ſome controuerſie, through the diuerſity of Contrary opinions, ſome alleadging, that how profitable, and to what good purpoſe ſoeuer our iourney ſhould portend, yet our commiſſion, commanding no certaine deſigne, we ſhould be taxed for the moſt in-

[1] Thickets.

[2] Uſed, as was at that period cuſtomary, in the ſenſe of "than." There ſhould be a comma only after "force," a period after "woods," and no point after "trayning," in the ſecond, fifth, and ſixth lines above.

diſcreete men in the world, beſides the wrong we ſhould doe to Captaine Nuport, to whom only all diſcoueries did belong, and to no other: the meanes for guides, beſide the vncertaine courſes of the riuer, from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie vs in two houres, better then that they firſt called the Fort, their Townes vpon the riuer, each within one dayes iourney of other, beſides our ordinary prouiſion, might well be ſuppoſed to adde reliefe: for truck & dealing only, but in loue & peace, as w^t^ the reſt; if they aſſalted vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage ſo conuey, that we ſhould not ſhare, but admit the worſt, 16. daies prouiſion we had of Cheeſe, Oatmeale, and biſket beſides our randeuous, we could and might haue hid in the ground.[1] With ſixe men, Captaine Martin, would haue vndertaken it himſelfe, leauing the reſt to defend the Fort,

[1] The punctuation thus far upon this page is evidently very incorrect; but, as the meaning of the writer in ſome places is not always clear, it is difficult to ſay how it ſhould be altered. I ſuggeſt the following reading: ["We lacked] the means for guides, beſide the uncertain courſes of the river, from which [however] we could not err much. Each night would [i. e. we could] fortify us in two hours, better than that they firſt called 'the Fort' [at Jameſtown]. Their towns upon the river, each within one day's journey of [the] other, beſides our ordinary proviſion, might well be ſuppoſed to add relief for truck and dealing; but only in love and peace. As with the reſt [the hoſtile Indians], if they aſſaulted us, their towns they cannot defend, nor their luggage ſo convey, that we ſhould not ſhare [their ſtores]. But, admit the worſt, ſixteen days' proviſion we had of cheeſe, oatmeal, and biſcuit [which], we could and might [for better ſecurity] have hid in the ground, beſides [i.e., near] our rendezvous."

and plant our Corne: yet no reaſon could be reaſon, to proceede forward, though we were going aboard to ſet ſaile: Theſe diſcontents cauſed ſo many doubts to ſome, and diſcouragement to others, as our iourney ended: yet ſome of vs procured petitions to ſet vs forward, only with hope of our owne confuſions, our next courſe was to turne huſbandmen, to fell Trees and ſet Corne. Fiftie of our men, we imployed in this ſervice, the reſt kept the Fort, to doe the command of the preſident, and Captaine Martin, 30. dayes the ſhip lay expecting ye triall of certain matters, which for ſome cauſe I keep priuate:[1] ye next exploit was an Indian hauing ſtolen an Axe, was ſo purſued by Maiſter Scriuener, & them next him, as he threw it downe, and flying, drew his bow at any that durſt incounter him: within foure or fiue dayes after, Maiſter Scriuener and I, being a litle from the Fort, among the Corne, two Indians, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with Terraſigillata, came circling about mee, as though they would haue clubed me like a hare: I knew their faining loue is towards me, not without a deadly hatred, but to preuent the worſt, I calling maiſter Scriuener, retired to the Fort: the Indians ſeeing me

[1] This has undoubted reference to the trial for gold which occupied the minds of ſome of the coloniſts; including Captain Martin, who was for reloading this ſhip, as Newport's ſhip had been on her laſt voyage home, "with phantaſticall gold," which Smith oppoſed, preferring to ſend home cedar, rather than "durt, or the hopes and reports of an vncertain diſcovery." — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 53.

ſuſpect them, with good tearmes, aſked me for ſome of their men, whom they would beate, and went with me into our Fort, finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a ſpie: they offered to beat him, I in perſwading them to forbeare, they offered to beginne with me, being now foure[1] for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other ſide the Fort: whereupon I cauſed to ſhut the Ports, and apprehend them. The preſident and Counſell, being preſently acquainted, remembring at the firſt aſſault, they came in like manner, and neuer elſe but againſt ſome villanie, concluded to commit them to priſon, and expect the euent, eight more we ceezed at that preſent, an houre after came three or foure other ſtrangers, extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, ſkinnes, and ſhooting gloues, their iealouſie and feare, bewrayed their bad intent, as alſo their ſuſpitious departure.

The next day came firſt an Indian, then another as Embaſſadors for their men, they deſired to ſpeake with me, our diſcourſe was, that what Spades, Shouells, ſwords, or tooles they had ſtolne, to bring home, (if not the next day, they ſhould hang) the next newes was, they had taken two of our men, ranging in the woods, which miſchiefe no puniſhment will preuent but hanging, and theſe they would ſhould redeem their owne 16. or 18. thus brauing vs to our doores, we deſired

[1] The ſenſe requires a comma here; and a comma after "ſpie" and a period after "him," in the ſecond line above.

the preſident, and Captaine Martin, that afternoone to ſally vpon them, that they might but know, what we durſt to doe, and at night mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and ſpoiled, and deſtroyed, what we could, but they brought our men, and freely deliuered them: the preſident releaſed one, the reſt we brought well guarded, to Morning and Evening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare, then cauſed them to much ſorrow, which till then ſcoffed, and ſcorned at what we durſt doe, the Counſell concluded, that I ſhould terrifie them with ſome torture,[1] to know if I could know their intent, the next day I bound one in hold to the maine Maſt, and preſenting ſixe Muſkets with match in the cockes, forced him to deſire life, to anſwere my demaunds he could not, but one of his Comouodos was of the Counſell of Paſpahegh, that could ſatiſfie me: I releaſing him out of ſight, I affrighted the other, first with the rack, then with Muſkets, which ſeeing, he deſired me to ſtay, and hee would confeſſe[2] to this execution Maiſter Scriuener came, his diſcourſe was to this effect, that Paſpehegh, the Chickahamaniar, Youghtanum, Pamaunka, Mattapanient, and Kiſkiack.[3] Theſe nations were altogether a hunt-

[1] That is, thoſe who (p. 68) had been committed to priſon.

[2] There ſhould be a period here.

[3] There ſhould be no period here, and "theſe nations" ſhould be in a parentheſis. I interpret this paſſage thus: that Indians from the ſeveral tribes named were together a hunting when Smith was taken priſoner in December of laſt year; that, ſubſequently, the "Paſpaheghs" and "Chickahomines" had a plot to ſurpriſe thoſe who might be at work, and ſeize their tools; that "Powha-

ing that took me, Paſpahegh, & Chicahamanya, had entended to ſurpriſe vs at worke, to haue had our tools: Powhatan, & al his would ſeeme friends, till Captaine Nuports returne, that he had againe his man, which he called Namontack, where with a great feaſt hee would enamor Captain Nuport & his men, as they ſhould ceaze on him, and the like traps would be laied for the reſt.

This trap for our tooles, we ſuſpected[1] the chiefe occaſion was foure daies before Powhatan had ſent the boy[2] he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maiſter Scriuener, and mee, vnderſtanding I would go vp into his Countries to deſtroy them, and he doubted[3] it the more, in that I ſo oft practiſed my men, whoſe ſhooting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues, and children; we ſent him word, we entended no ſuch thing, but only to goe to Powhatan, to ſeeke ſtonės to make Hatchets, except his men ſhoot at vs, as Paſpahegh had told vs that they would, which if they did ſhoot, but one arrowe, we would deſtroy them, and leaſt this miſchiefe might happen, ſent the boy to acquaint him thus much, and requeſt him to ſend vs Weanock, one of his ſubiects for a guide, ye boy

tan and al his would ſeeme friends till Captane Newports returne" (with "Namontack," whom he took with him to England on his laſt voyage home), when they would make a feaſt for him and his men, and then entrap him and the reſt.

[1] "This trap for our tools we ſuſpected. The chief occaſion was, foure daies before," &c.

[2] Thomas Savage, the boy given by Newport to Powhatan. He had arrived with the firſt "ſupply."

[3] Uſed here in the ſenſe of "feared."

he returned backe with his Cheſt, & apparrell, which then we had giuen him, deſiring another for him, ye cauſe was, he was practiſing with the Chickahamanias, as the boy ſuſpected some villainie, by their extraordinary reſort, & ſecret conference from whence they would ſend him. The boy we keepe, now we would ſend him many meſſengers, & preſents, the guide we deſired he ſent vs, & withall requeſted vs to returne him, either the boy, or ſome other, but none he could haue, & that day theſe Indians were apprehended, his ſonne with others y^t^ had loaded[1] at our Fort, returned, & being out of the Fort, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him, & to ye Chikamanias, not long after Weanock, y^t^ had bin with vs for our guide, whom wee kept to haue conducted vs in another iourny, w^t^ a falſe excuſe returned, and ſecretly after him, Amocis the Paſpaheyan, who alwaies they kept amongſt vs for a ſpie, whom the better to auoide ſuſpition, preſently after they came to beare away: theſe preſumptions induced me to take any occaſion, not onely to try the honeſty of Amocis, the ſpie, but alſo the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of Powhatan; whoſe true meaning Captaine Martin moſt confidently pleaded.

The confeſſion of Macanoe, which was the counſellor of Paſpahegh: firſt I, then Maiſter Scriuener,

[1] "Lodged" (?)

vpon their ſeverall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that Paſpahegh, and Chickahammania did hate vs, and intended some miſchiefe, and who they were that tooke me, the names of them that ſtole our tooles, and ſwords, and that Powhatan receiued them, they all agreed: certaine vollies of ſhot we cauſed to be diſcharged, which cauſed each other to thinke that their fellowes had beene ſlaine.

Powhatan vnderſtanding we detained certaine Saluages, sent his Daughter,[1] a child of tenne yeares old,

[1] This is the firſt reference in this tract to Pocahontas, who ſubſequently became ſo famous in Virginia ſtory; and it is the earlieſt notice of her which I have met with anywhere. If her age here is correctly given, ſhe was but ſixteen years old when ſhe was married to Rolfe, in April, 1614. In the ſecond part of the "Map of Virginia," 1612 (p. 103), it is ſaid that ſhe was, at the period there referred to (ſay 1609), "at moſt not paſt 13 or 14 yeares of age." If the age given on her picture in the "Generall Hiſtorie" is correct, viz., "Ætatis ſuæ 21. A° 1616," ſhe muſt have been thirteen years of age at the time Smith is here writing (1608), and nineteen at the time of her marriage. The following paſſage from Strachey, the ſecretary of the colony, who arrived at Jameſtown in May, 1610, and reſided there leſs than two years, may find an appropriate place here. After ſaying that "their younger women goe not ſhadowed amongſt their owne companie untill they be nigh eleaven or twelve returnes of the leafe old," he proceeds: "Nor are they much aſhamed thereof, and therefore would the before remembred Pochahuntas, a well featured, but wanton yong girle, Powhatan's daughter, ſometymes reſorting to our fort, of the age then of eleven or twelve yeares, get the boyes forth with her into the markett place, and make them wheele, falling on their hands, turning up their heeles upwards, whome ſhe would followe and wheele ſo her ſelf, naked as ſhe was, all the fort over; but being once twelve yeares, they put on a kind of ſemecinctum lethern apron (as doe our artificers or handycrafts men) before their bellies, and are very ſhamefac't to be ſeene bare," &c. — *Hiſtorie of Travaile*, &c., p. 65. This, again, would more nearly indicate the age named in the text, if Strachey is here ſpeaking of his own time in the colony.

which not only for feature, countenance, & proportion, much exceedeth any of the reſt of his people, but for wit, and ſpirit, the only Nonpareil of his Country: this hee ſent by his moſt truſtie meſſenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of perſon, but of a ſubtill wit, and crafty vnderſtanding, he with a long circumſtance, told mee, how well Powhatan, loued and reſpected mee, and in that I ſhould not doubt any way of his kindneſſe, he had ſent his child, which he moſt eſteemed, to ſee me, a Deere, and bread, beſides for a preſent: deſiring me that the Boy might come againe, which he loued exceedingly, his little Daughter hee had taught this leſſon alſo: not taking notice at all of the Indeans that had beene priſoners three daies, till that morning that ſhe ſaw their fathers and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreate their libertie.

Opechancanough, sent alſo vnto vs, that for his ſake, we would releaſe two that were his friends, and for a token ſent me his ſhooting Gloue, and Bracer,[1] which the day our men was taken vpon,[2] ſeparating himſelfe from the reſt a long time, intreated to ſpeake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the ſame: now all of them hauing found their peremptorie conditions, but to increaſe our malice, which they ſeeing vs begin to threaten to deſtroy them, as famil-

[1] Armor for the arm.

[2] Perhaps he means to ſay, "which, the day our men was taken, was vpon them."

iarly as before, without ſuſpition, or feare, came amongſt vs, to begge libertie for their men: In the afternoone they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church, and after prayer, gaue them to Pocahuntas, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindneſſe in ſending her: after hauing well fed them, as all the time of their impriſonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what elſe they had, and with much content, ſent them packing:[1] Pocahuntas, alſo we re-

[1] The following condenſed account of the events detailed on the laſt ſix pages, and including thoſe on pages 62 and 63, is from the "Generall Hiſtorie," page 54: "*Powhatan* (to expreſs his loue to *Newport*) when he departed, preſented him with twentie Turkies, conditionally to returne him twentie ſwords, which immediately was ſent him; now after his departure he preſented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not ſending ſuch weapons as he defired, he cauſed his people with twentie devices to obtaine them. At laſt by ambuſcadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, ſurpriſe vs at worke, or any way; which was ſo long permitted, they became ſo inſolent there was no rule; the command from *England* was ſo ſtrait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houſes) would rather be any thing than peace-breakers: this charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue them ſuch an incounter, as ſome he ſo hunted vp and downe the Iſle, ſome he ſo terrified with whipping, beating, and impriſonment, as for revenge they ſurpriſed two of our forraging diſorderly ſouldiers, and having aſſembled their forces, boldly threatened at our Ports to force *Smith* to redeliver ſeven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained priſoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he ſallied out amongſt them, and in leſſe than an houre, he ſo hampred their inſolencies, they brought them his two men, deſiring peace without any further compoſition for their priſoners. Thoſe he examined, and cauſed them all beleeue, by ſeverall vollies of ſhot one of their companions was ſhot to death, becauſe they would not confeſſe their intents and plotters of thoſe villanies. And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by *Powhatan* to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats, with the manner where,

quited, with ſuch trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vſed ye Paſpaheyans very kindly in ſo releaſing them. The next day we had ſuſpition of ſome other practiſe for an Ambuſcado, but perfectly wee could not diſcouer it, two daies after a Paſpaheyan, came to ſhew vs a gliſtering Minerall ſtone: and with ſignes demonſtrating it to be in great aboundance, like vnto Rockes,[1] with ſome dozen more, I was ſent to ſeeke to digge ſome quantitie, and the Indean to conduct me: but ſuſpecting this ſome tricke to delude vs, for to get ſome Copper of vs, or with ſome Ambuſcado to betray vs, ſeeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, led him aſhore, where abuſing vs from place to place, and ſo ſeeking either to haue drawn vs with him into the woods, or to haue giuen vs the ſlippe:[2] I ſhewed him Copper, which I promiſed to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promiſe, but for his ſcof-

how, and when, which we plainly found moſt true and apparant: yet he ſent his meſſengers, and his deareſt daughter *Pocahontas* with preſents to excuſe him of the iniuries done by ſome raſh vntoward Captaines his ſubiects, deſiring their liberties for this time, with the aſſurance of his loue for ever. After *Smith* had given the priſoners what correction he thought fit, vſed them well a day or two after, & then delivered them *Pocahontas*, for whoſe ſake onely he fayned to haue ſaued their liues, and gaue them libertie. The patient Councell that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with Captaine *Smith* for his crueltie, yet none was ſlaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in ſuch feare and obedience, as his very name would ſufficiently affright them; where before, wee had ſometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very ſeldom a weeke, but we had ſome trecherous villany or other."

[1] "Like unto Rockes. With ſome dozen more I was ſent," &c.

[2] There ſhould be only a comma here.

fing and abuſing vs, I gaue him twentie laſhes with a Rope, and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him ſhoote if he durſt,and ſo let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the moſt part well recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then neceſſitie enforced vs vnto, we thought good for the better content of the aduenturers, in ſome reaſonable ſort to fraight home Maiſter Nelſon with Cedar wood,[1] about which, our men going with willing minds, was in very good time effected, and the ſhip ſent for England;[2] wee now remaining being in good health, all our men wel cõtented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, & as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians,[3] where we doubt not but by Gods

[1] See page 67, note.

[2] "The ſecond of June 1608, Smith left the Fort to performe his Diſcovery," with a company of fourteen perſons. "In an open Barge neare three tuns burthen, leaving the *Phœnix* at Cape *Henry*, they croſſed the Bay to the Eaſtern ſhore," &c. — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 55. This was Smith's firſt voyage of exploration of Cheſapeake Bay, and of the rivers running into it. The party returned on the 21ſt of July. He ſtarted again on the 24th of that month "to finiſh the diſcovery," with a party of twelve, and was abſent over ſeven weeks, returning on the 7th of September. From the reſults of theſe diſcoveries, combined with his previous knowledge of the country, Smith compoſed his map of Virginia, which he ſent home by Newport before the cloſe of the year; and it was firſt publiſhed in the Oxford tract before referred to, in 1612. *Generall Hiſtorie*, pp. 59, 65, 71, 72.

[3] This hope, however, proved deluſive. The Indians continued to be a ſource of annoyance and vexation. Perhaps they had ſome provocation. After a time, the coloniſts gained more confidence in their ſafety, and ſcattered ſettlements ſprang up on the bay, and the rivers running into it, in many inſtances remote from each other. The haughty "Opechancanough" had ever been intent on the deſtruction of the Engliſh; and, by a courſe of craft and policy, he had "lulled the

gracious aſſiſtance, and the aduenturers willing minds, and ſpeedie furtherance to ſo honorable an action in after times, to ſee our Nation to enjoy a Country, not onely exceeding pleaſant for habitation, but alſo very profitable for comerce in generall, no doubt pleaſing to almightie God, honourable to our gracious Souer-aigne, and commodious generally to the whole King-dome.[1]

coloniſts into a fatal ſecurity." On the 22d of March, 1621–2, his plans having been matured, a general riſing of the Indians took place, and three hundred and forty-ſeven persons, — one-twelfth of all the coloniſts, — including ſix members of the council, were cut off. — *Stith*, pp. 209, 210.

[1] The narrative, here brought to a cloſe, embraces the hiſtory of the colony from the arrival at the Cheſapeake, on the 21ſt of April, 1607, to the 2d of June, 1608, a period of a little over thirteen months. As it was printed in London in 1608, it is quite probable that it was ſent home at this time by Captain Nelſon. Captain Smith continued to ſerve the colony to the beſt of his ability. In July of this year, Ratcliffe was depoſed, and Smith was choſen in his place; but, as he was deſirous to finiſh the diſcovery of Cheſapeake Bay, which he had begun, "he ſubſtituted Mr *Scrivener*, his deare friend, in the Preſidency," and imbarked on his voyage. — *Generall Hiſtorie*, p. 59. On the 10th of September of this year, he was by the Council elected their Preſident, and "receiued the Letters Patents." This office he held until he left the colony in the autumn ("about Michaelmaſs") of 1609, never to return to it again. — *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 164.

FINIS.

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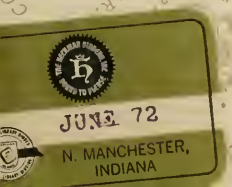
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